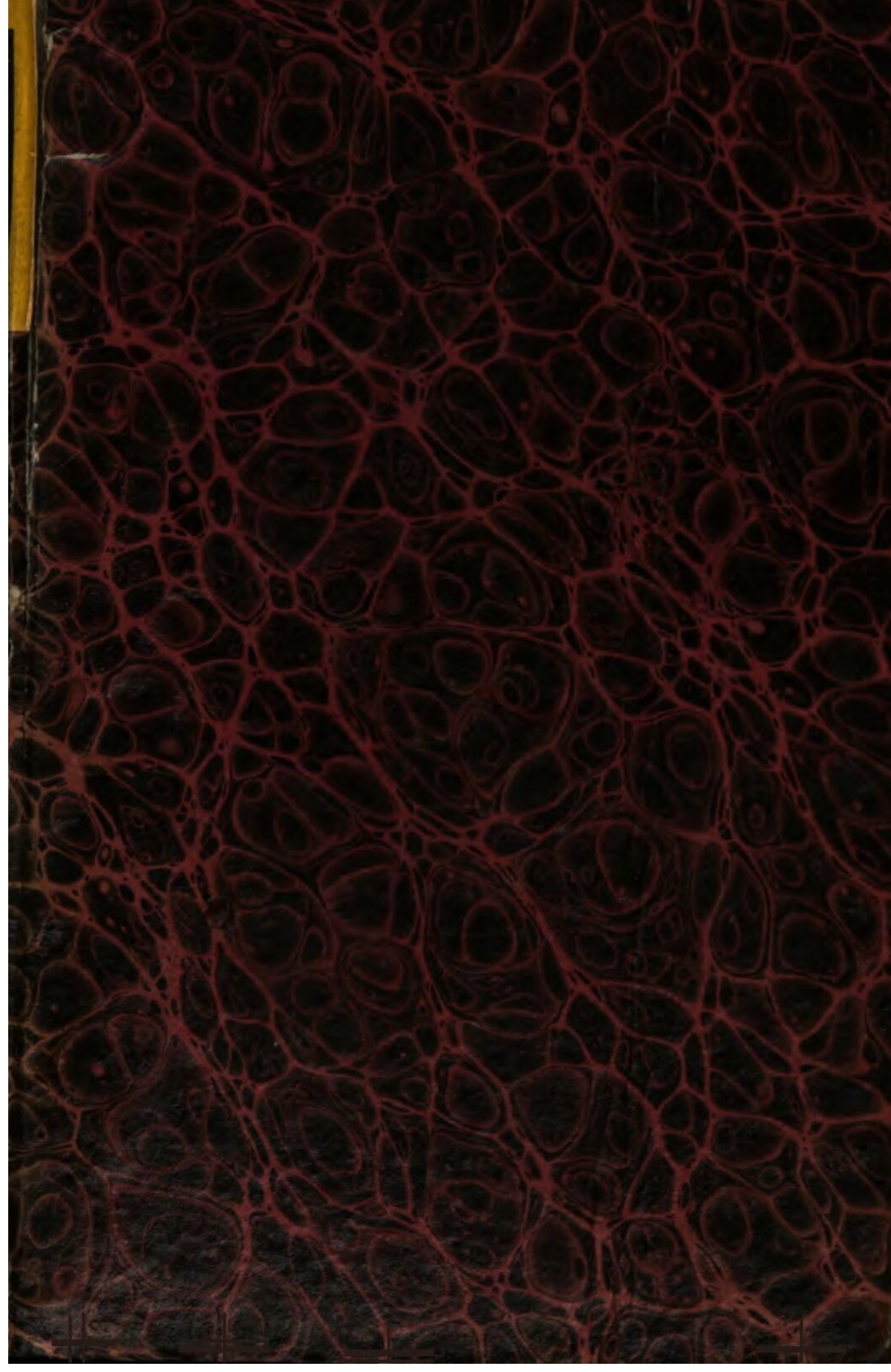




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AN
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OF
ENGLAND;

FROM THE
INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR
TO THE
DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND;
AND CONTINUED

TO THE GENERAL PEACE IN THE YEAR 1815.

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CHAPTER I.

OF BRITAIN.

*From the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the  
Abdication of the Romans.*

BRITAIN was but very little known to the rest of the world before the time of the Romans. The coasts opposite Gaul were frequented by merchants who traded thither for such commodities as the natives were able to produce, and who, after a time, possessed themselves of all the maritime places where they had at first been permitted to reside. Finding the country fertile, and commodiously situated for trade, they settled upon the sea-side, and introduced the practice of agriculture. But the inland inhabitants of the country, who considered themselves as the lawful possessors of the soil, avoided all correspondence with men whom they viewed as intruders upon their property.

The inland inhabitants are represented as extremely numerous, living in cottages thatched with straw, and feeding large herds of cattle. They lived mostly upon milk, or flesh procured by the chase.



What clothes they wore to cover any part of their bodies, were usually the skins of beasts; but the arms, legs, and thighs were left naked, and were usually painted blue. Their hair, which was long, flowed down upon their backs and shoulders, while their beards were kept close shaven, except upon the upper lip, where it was suffered to grow. The dress of savage nations is every where nearly alike, being calculated rather to inspire terror, than to excite respect.

As to their government, it consisted of several small principalities, under different leaders; and this seems to be the earliest mode of dominion, with which mankind are acquainted, and is deduced from the natural privileges of paternal authority. Upon great and imminent dangers, a commander in chief was chosen by common consent in a general assembly; and to him was committed the conduct of the general interest in peace or war.

Their forces consisted chiefly of foot, and yet they could bring a considerable number of horse into the field upon great occasions. They likewise used chariots in battle, which, with short scythes fastened to the ends of the axletrees, inflicted terrible wounds, spreading horror and devastation where-soever they drove. Nor were the warriors who conducting them unemployed: these darted their javelins against the enemy, ran along the beam, leaped on the ground, resumed their seat, stopped, or turned their horses at full speed, and sometimes cunningly retreated, to draw the enemy into confusion.

The religion of the Britons was one of the most considerable parts of their government; and the Druids, who were the guardians of it, possessed great



authority among them. No species of superstition was ever more terrible than theirs ; besides the severe penalties which they were permitted to inflict in this world , they inculcated the eternal transmigration of souls , and thus extended their authority as far as the fears of their votaries. They sacrificed human victims , which they burned in large wicker idols , made so capacious as to contain a multitude of persons at once , who were thus consumed together. To these rites , they added the austerity of their manners and the simplicity of their lives. They lived in woods , caves , and hollow trees ; their food was acorns and berries , and their drink water ; by these arts they were not only respected but almost adored by the people , whose manners took a tincture from the discipline of their teachers. Their lives were simple , but they were marked with cruelty and fierceness ; their courage was great , but neither dignified by mercy nor perseverance.

The Britons had long remained in this rude but independent state , when Cæsar , having victoriously over-ran Gaul , and willing still farther to extend his fame , determined upon the conquest of a country that seemed to promise an easy triumph. Accordingly he set sail for Britain about midnight , and the next morning arrived on the coast near Dover , where he saw the rocks and cliffs covered with armed men to oppose his landing.

The Britons had chosen Cassibelaunus for their commander in chief ; but the petty princes under his command , either from suspicion or jealousy , threw off their allegiance. Some of them fled with their forces into the internal parts of the kingdom , others submitted to Cæsar , till at length Cassibelaunus



himself, thus weakened, resolved upon making what terms he was able, while he yet had power to keep the field. The conditions offered by Cæsar and accepted by him were, that he should send to the continent double the number of hostages at first demanded, and that he should acknowledge subjection to the Romans. Cæsar, however, was obliged to return once more to compel the Britons to complete their stipulated treaty.

The next emperor, Augustus, formed a design of visiting Britain, but was diverted from it by an unexpected revolt of the Pannonians. Tiberius, wisely judging the empire already too extensive, made no attempt upon Britain. From that time the natives began to improve in all the arts which contribute to the advancement of human nature. The wild extravagancies of Caligula, by which he threatened Britain with an invasion, served rather to expose him to ridicule than the island to danger. At length the Romans, in the reign of Claudius, began to think seriously of reducing them under their dominion. The expedition for this purpose was conducted in the beginning by Plautius and other commanders, with that success which usually attended the Roman arms.

Caractacus was the first who seemed willing, by a vigorous effort, to rescue his country, and though with inferior forces, continued, for above nine years, to oppose and harass the Romans; till at length he was totally routed, and taken prisoner by Ostorius Scapula, who sent him in triumph to Rome. While Caractacus was leading through Rome, he appeared no ways dejected at the amazing concourse of spectators that were gathered upon this



occasion, but casting his eyes on the splendours that surrounded him, « Alas, » cried he, « how is it possible that a people possessed of such magnificence at home, could envy me an humble cottage in Britain ! » The emperor was affected with the British hero's misfortunes, and won by his address. He ordered him to be unchained upon the spot, and set at liberty with the rest of the captives.

The cruel treatment of Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, drove the Britons once more into open rebellion. Prasatagus, king of the Iceni, at his death had bequeathed one-half of his dominions to the Romans, and the other to his daughters, thus hoping, by the sacrifice of a part, to secure the rest in his family : but it had a different effect ; for the Roman procurator immediately took possession of the whole ; and when Boadicea, the widow of the deceased, attempted to remonstrate, he ordered her to be scourged like a slave, and violated the chastity of her daughters. These outrages were sufficient to produce a revolt throughout the island. The Iceni, as being the most deeply interested in the quarrel, were the first to take arms ; all the other states soon followed the example : and Boadicea, a woman of great beauty and masculine spirit, was appointed to head the common forces, which amounted to two hundred and thirty thousand fighting men. These, exasperated by their wrongs, attacked several of the Roman settlements and colonies with success. Paulinus who commanded the Roman forces, hastened to relieve London, which was already a flourishing colony ; but found on his arrival that it would be requisite for the general safety to abandon that place to the merciless fury of the enemy.



London was soon therefore reduced to ashes : such of the inhabitants as remained in it were massacred ; and the Romans, with all other strangers, to the amount of seventy thousand, were cruelly put to the sword. Flushed with these successes, the Britons boldly came to the place where Paulinus awaited their arrival, posted in a very advantageous manner with a body of ten thousand men. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Boadicea herself appeared in a chariot with her two daughters, and harangued her army with masculine intrepidity ; but the irregular and undisciplined bravery of her troops was unable to resist the cool intrepidity of the Romans. They were routed with great slaughter, eighty thousand perished in the field, and an infinite number were made prisoners, while Boadicea herself, fearing to fall into the hands of the enraged victor, put an end to her life by poison.

The general who finally established the dominion of the Romans in this island, was Julius Agricola, who governed it during the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and distinguished himself as well by his courage as humanity. For several years after his time a profound peace seems to have prevailed in Britain, and little mention is made of the affairs of the island by any historian. At length, however, Rome that had for ages given laws to nations, and diffused slavery and oppression over the known world, began to sink under her own magnificence. Mankind as if by a general consent, rose up to vindicate their natural freedom ; almost every nation asserting that independence which they had been long so unjustly deprived of.

During these struggles, the British youth were



frequently drawn away into Gaul, to give ineffectual succour to the various contenders for the empire, who failing in every attempt, only left the name of tyrants behind them. In the mean time, as the Roman forces decreased in Britain, the Picts and Scots continued still more boldly to infest the northern parts : and crossing the friths, which the Romans could not guard in little wicker boats covered with leather, filled the country wherever they came with slaughter and consternation.

The Romans, therefore finding it impossible to stand their ground in Britain, in the reign of the emperor Valentinian took their last leave of the island, after having been masters of it near four hundred years, and now left the natives to the choice of their own government and kings. They gave them the best instructions the calamitous times would permit, for exercising their arms and repairing their ramparts, and helped them to erect a new wall of stone built by the emperor Severus across the island.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE SAXONS.

**T**HE Britons being now left to themselves, considered their new liberties as their greatest calamity. The Picts and Scots uniting together, began to look upon Britain as their own, and attacked with success, the northern wall which the Romans had built to keep off their incursions. Having thus opened to themselves a passage, they ravaged the whole country with impunity, while the Britons sought precarious shelter in their woods and mountains.



It was in this deplorable and enfeebled state that the Britons had recourse to the Saxons, a brave people, who for their strength and valour were formidable to all the German nations around them. They were restless and bold, considered war as their trade; and were, in consequence taught to consider victory as a doubtful advantage, but courage as a certain good. A nation, however entirely addicted to war, has seldom wanted the imputation of cruelty, as those terrors which are opposed without fear, are often inflicted without regret. The Saxons are represented as a very cruel nation : but we must remember that their enemies have drawn the picture.

It was no disagreeable circumstance to these ambitious people to be invited into a country upon which they had for ages before been forming designs. In consequence, therefore, of Vortigern's solemn invitation, who was then king of Britain, they arrived with fifteen hundred men, under the command of Hengist and Horsa, who were brothers, and landed on the isle of Thanet. There, being joined by the British forces, they boldly marched against the Picts and Scots, who had advanced as far as Lincolnshire, and soon gained a complete victory over them.

The Saxons, however, being sensible of the fertility of the country to which they came, and the barrenness of that which they had left behind, invited over great numbers of their countrymen to become sharers in their new expedition. Accordingly, they received a fresh supply of five thousand men, who passed over in seventeen vessels, and soon made a permanent establishment in the island.



The British historians, in order to account for the easy conquest of their country by the Saxons, assign their treachery, not less than their valour, as a principal cause. They alledge that Vortigern was artfully inveigled into a passion for Rowena, the daughter of Hengist; and, in order to marry her, was induced to settle the fertile province of Kent upon her father, from whence the Saxons could never after be removed. It is alledged also, that upon the death of Vortimer, which shortly happened after the victory he obtained at Eglesford, Vortigern his father was reinstated upon the throne. It is added that this weak monarch, accepting of a festival from Hengist, three hundred of his nobility were treacherously slaughtered, and himself detained as a captive.

After the death of Hengist, several other German tribes, allured by the success of their countrymen, went over in great numbers. A body of Saxons, under the conduct of Ælla and his three sons, had some time before laid the foundation of the kingdom of the South Saxons, though not without great opposition and bloodshed. This new kingdom included Surrey, Sussex, and the New Forest; and extended to the frontiers of Kent.

Another tribe of Saxons, under the command of Cerdic and his son Kenric, landed in the West, and from thence took the name of West Saxons. These met with a very vigorous opposition from the natives, but being reinforced from Germany, and assisted by their countrymen on the island, they routed the Britons; and although retarded in their progress by the celebrated King Arthur, they had strength enough to keep possession of the conquests they had already made. Cerdic, therefore, with his



son Kenric, established the third Saxon kingdom in the island, namely, that of the West Saxons, including the counties of Hants, Dorset, Wilts, Berks, and the isle of Wight.

It was in opposing this Saxon invader, that the celebrated prince Arthur acquired his fame. This prince is of such obscure origin, that some authors suppose him to be the son of King Ambrosius, and others only his nephew: others again affirm that he was a Cornish prince, and son of Gurlois, king of that province. However this be, it is certain he was a commander of great valour, and if courage alone could have repaired the miserable state of the Britons, his might have been effectual. According to the most authentic historians, he is said to have worsted the Saxons in twelve successive battles. In one of these, namely that fought at Caerbadon, in Berks, it is asserted that he killed no less than four hundred and forty of the enemy with his own hand. But the Saxons were too numerous and powerful to be extirpated by the desultory efforts of single valour; so that a peace was the only fruit of his victories. The enemy, therefore, still gained ground; and this prince, in the decline of his life, had the mortification, from some domestic troubles of his own, to be a patient spectator of their encroachments. His first wife had been carried off by Melnas, king of Somersetshire, who detained her a whole year at Glastonbury, until Arthur, discovering the place of her retreat, advanced with an army against the ravisher, and obliged him to give her back. In his second wife, perhaps he might have been more fortunate, as we have no mention made of her; but it was otherwise with his third consort, who was



debauched by his own nephew, Mordred. This produced a rebellion, in which the king and his traitorous kinsman meeting in battle, slew each other.

In the mean time, while the Saxons were thus gaining ground in the West, their countrymen were not less active in other parts of the island. Adventurers still continuing to pour over from Germany, one body of them, under the command of Uffa, seized upon the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and gave their commander the title of king of the East Angles, which was the fourth Saxon kingdom founded in Britain. Another body of these adventurers formed a kingdom under the title of East Saxony, or Essex, comprehending Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. This kingdom, which was dismembered from that of Kent, formed the fifth Saxon principality founded in Britain. The Kingdom of Mercia was the sixth which was established by these fierce invaders, comprehending all the middle counties, from the banks of the Severn to the frontiers of the two last named kingdoms.

The seventh and last kingdom which they obtained was that of Northumberland, one of the most powerful and extensive of them all. This was formed from the union of two smaller Saxon kingdoms, the one called Bernicia, containing the present county of Northumberland, and the bishoprick of Durham; the subjects of the other, called the Deiri, extending themselves over Lancashire and Yorkshire. These kingdoms were united in the person of Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, by the expulsion of Edwin, his brother in law, from the kingdom of the Deiri, and the seizure of his dominions. In this manner, seven kingdoms were established in



Britain, which have been since well known by the name of the Saxon Heptarchy.

The Saxons being thus established in all the desirable parts of the island, and having no longer the Britons to contend with, began to quarrel among themselves. A country divided into a number of petty independent principalities, must ever be subject to contention, as jealousy and ambition have more frequent incentives to operate. After a series, therefore, of battles, treasons, and stratagems, all these petty principalities fell under the power of Egbert, king of Wessex, whose merits deserved dominion, and whose prudence secured his conquests. By him all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy were united under the common jurisdiction; and to give splendour to his authority, a general council of the clergy and laity was summoned at Winchester, where he was solemnly crowned king of England, by which name the united kingdom was thenceforward called. Thus, about four hundred years after the first arrival of the Saxons in Britain, all the petty settlements were united into one great state, and nothing offered but prospects of peace, security, and increasing refinement.

It was about this period that St. Gregory undertook to send missionaries among the Saxons, to convert them to Christianity. It is said, that before his elevation to the papal chair, he chanced one day to pass through the slave-market at Rome, and perceiving some children of great beauty who were set up for sale, he enquired about their country, and finding they were English Pagans, he is said to have cried out, in the Latin language, *Non Angli, sed Angeli forent, si essent Christiani*. They would not



be English, but Angels, had they been but Christians. From that time he was struck with an ardent desire to convert that unenlightened nation, and ordered a monk, named Augustine, and others of the same fraternity, to undertake a mission into Britain.

This pious monk, upon his first landing in the isle of Thanet, sent one of his interpreters to Ethelbert, the Kentish king, declaring he was come from Rome with offers of eternal salvation. The king immediately ordered them to be furnished with all necessities, and even visited them, though without declaring himself as yet in their favour. Augustine, however, encouraged by this favourable reception, proceeded with redoubled zeal to preach the gospel. The king openly espoused the Christian religion, while his example wrought so successfully on his subjects, that numbers of them came voluntarily to be baptized, their missionary loudly declaring against any coercive means towards their conversion. In this manner the other kingdoms, one after the other, embraced the faith.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE INVASION OF THE DANES.

**P**EACE and unanimity had been scarcely established in England, when a mighty swarm of those nations called Danes, who had possessed the countries bordering on the Baltic, began to level their fury against England. A small body of them at first landed on the coasts, with a view to learn the state of the country; and having committed some small



depredations, fled to their ships for safety. About seven years after this first attempt they made a descent upon the kingdom of Northumberland, where they pillaged a monastery; but their fleet being shattered by a storm, they were defeated by the inhabitants, and put to the sword. It was not till about five years after the accession of Egbert, that their invasions became truly formidable. From that time they continued with unceasing ferocity, until the whole kingdom was reduced to a state of the most distressful bondage. Though often repulsed, they always obtained their end, of spoiling the country, and carrying the plunder away. It was their method to avoid coming, if possible, to a general engagement; but scattering themselves over the face of the country, they carried away, indiscriminately, as well the inhabitants themselves, as all their moveable possessions.

At length, however, they resolved upon making a settlement in the country, and landing on the isle of Thanet, stationed themselves there. In this place, they kept their ground, notwithstanding a bloody victory gained over them by Ethelwolf. The reign of Ethelbald, his successor, was of no long continuance; however, in so short a space, he crowded a number of vices sufficient to render his name odious to posterity.

This prince was succeeded by his brother Ethelred, a brave commander, but whose valour was insufficient to repress the Danish incursions. In these exploits, he was always assisted by his younger brother, Alfred, afterwards surnamed the Great, who sacrificed all private resentment to the public good, having been deprived, by the king, of a large patri-



mony. It was during Ethelred's reign, that the Danes, penetrating into Mercia, took up their winter quarters at Nottingham; from whence the king, attempting to dislodge them, received a wound in the battle, of which he died, leaving his brother Alfred, the inheritance of a kingdom, that was now reduced to the brink of ruin.

The Danes had already subdued Northumberland and East Anglia, and had penetrated into the very heart of Wessex. The Mercians were united against Alfred; the dependence upon the other provinces of the empire was but precarious: the lands lay uncultivated through fear of continual incursions; and all the churches and monasteries were burned to the ground. In this terrible situation of affairs, the wisdom and virtues of one man alone were found sufficient to bring back happiness, security, and order. Alfred seemed born not only to defend his bleeding country, but even to adorn humanity. He had given very early instances of those great virtues which afterwards gave splendour to his reign; and was anointed by pope Leo, as future king, when he was sent by his father for his education to Rome. On his return, he became every day more the object of his father's fond affections; but his education was so much neglected, that he had attained the age of twelve before he was made acquainted with the lowest elements of literature; when hearing some Saxon poems read, which recounted the praise of heroes, his mind was roused, not only to obtain a similitude of glory, but also to be able to transmit that glory to posterity. Encouraged by the queen his mother, and assisted by a penetrating genius, he soon learned to read these compositions, and pro-



ceeded from thence to a knowledge of Latin authors, who directed his taste, and rectified his ambition.

He was scarcely come to the throne when he was obliged to oppose the Danes, who had seized Wilton, and were ravaging the country round. He fell upon them with a few troops, and fought a desperate battle, though with some disadvantage. But it was not in the power of misfortune to abate the king's diligence, though it repressed his power to do good. He was in a little time enabled to hazard another engagement: so that the enemy, dreading his courage and activity, proposed terms of peace, which he did not think proper to refuse. They, by this treaty, agreed to relinquish the kingdom; but, instead of complying with their engagements, they only removed from one place to another, burning and destroying wherever they came.

Alfred, thus opposed to an enemy whom no stationary force could resist, nor treaties bind, found himself unable to repel the efforts of those ravagers, who from all quarters, invaded him. New swarms of the enemy arrived every year upon the coast, and fresh invasions were still projected. Some of his subjects, therefore, left their country, and retired into Wales, or fled to the continent; others submitted to the conquerors, and purchased their lives by their freedom. In this universal defection, Alfred vainly attempted to remind them of the duty they owed their country and their king; but, finding his remonstrances ineffectual, he was obliged to give way to the wretched necessity of the times. Accordingly relinquishing the ensigns of his dignity, and dismissing his servants, he dressed himself in the



habit of a peasant, and lived, for some time, in the house of an herdsman, who had been intrusted with the care of his cattle. In this manner, though abandoned by the world, and fearing an enemy in every quarter, still resolved to continue in his country, to catch the slightest occasions for bringing it yet relief. In his solitary retreat, which was in the county of Somerset, at the confluence of the rivers Parret and Thone, he amused himself with music, and supported his humble lot with the hopes of better fortune. It is said, that one day, being commanded by the herdsman's wife, who was ignorant of his quality, to take care of some cakes which were baking by the fire, he happened to let them burn, for which neglect she severely upbraided him.

Previous to his retirement, Alfred had concerted measures for assembling a few trusty friends, whenever an opportunity should offer of annoying the enemy, who were now in possession of all the country. This chosen band, still faithful to their monarch, took shelter in the forests and marshes of Somerset, and from thence made occasional irruptions upon straggling parties of the enemy. Their success in this rapacious and dreary method of living, encouraged many more to join their society, till, at length sufficiently augmented, they repaired to their monarch, who had, by that time, been reduced by famine to the last extremity.

Meanwhile Ubba, the chief of the Danish commanders, carried terror over the whole land, and now ravaged the country of Wales without opposition. The only place where he found resistance on his return, was from the castle of Kenwith, into which the earl of Devonshire had retired with a



small body of troops. This gallant soldier finding himself unable to sustain a siege, and knowing the danger of surrendering to a perfidious enemy, was resolved by one desperate effort to sally out, and force his way through the besiegers, sword in hand. The proposal was embraced by all his followers, while the Danes, secure in their numbers and in their contempt of the enemy, were not only routed with great slaughter, but Ubba, their general, was slain.

This victory once more restored courage to the dispirited Saxons; and Alfred, taking advantage of their favourable disposition, prepared to animate them to a vigorous exertion of their superiority. He soon, therefore, apprised them of the place of his retreat, and instructed them to be ready, with all their strength, at a minute's warning. But, as none was found in whom he could confide, and who would undertake to give intelligence of the forces and posture of the enemy, he undertook this dangerous task himself. In the simple dress of a shepherd, with a harp in his hand, he entered the Danish camp, tried all his musical arts to please, and was so much admired, that he was brought even into the presence of Guthrum the Danish prince, with whom he remained some days. There he remarked the supine security of the Danes, their contempt of the English, their negligence in foraging and plundering, and their dissolute wasting of such ill-gotten booty. Having made his observations, he returned to his retreat, and detached proper emissaries among his subjects, appointed them to meet him in arms in the forest of Selwood, a summons which they gladly obeyed.

It was against the most unguarded quarter of the



enemy that Alfred made his most violent attack, while the Danes, surprised to behold an army of English, whom they considered as totally subdued, made but a faint resistance. Notwithstanding the superiority of their number, they were routed with great slaughter; and though such as escaped fled for refuge into a fortified camp in the neighbourhood, being unprovided for a siege, in less than a fortnight they were compelled to surrender at discretion. By the conqueror's permission, those who did not choose to embrace Christianity embarked for Flanders, under the command of one of their generals, called Hastings. Guthrum, their prince, became a convert, with thirty of his nobles; and the king himself answered for him at the font.

Alfred had now attained the meridian of glory; he possessed a greater extent of glory than had ever been enjoyed by any of his predecessors; the kings of Wales did him homage for their possessions; the Northumbrians received a king of his appointing: and no enemy appeared to give him the least apprehensions, or excite an alarm. In this state of prosperity and profound tranquillity, which lasted twelve years, Alfred was diligently employed in cultivating the arts of peace, and in repairing the damages which the kingdom had sustained by war. He is said to have drawn up a body of laws; and his care for the encouragement of learning did not a little tend to improve the morals and restrain the barbarous habits of the people. When he came to the throne, he found the English sunk into the grossest ignorance and barbarism, proceeding from the continued disorders of the government, and from the ravages of the Danes. He himself complains, that,



on his accession, he knew not one person south of the Thames who could so much as interpret the Latin service. To remedy this deficiency, he invited over the most celebrated scholars from all parts of Europe; he founded, or at least re-established the University of Oxford, and endowed it with many privileges; and he gave, in his own example, the strongest incentives to study. He usually divided his time into three equal portions; one was given to sleep and the refectation of his body, diet and exercise; another to the dispatch of business; and the third to study and devotion. He made a considerable progress in the different studies of grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, architecture, and geometry. He was an excellent historian; he understood music; he was acknowledged to be the best Saxon poet of the age, and left many works behind him, some of which remain to this day. To give a character of this prince would only be, to sum up those qualities which constitute perfection. Even virtues seemingly opposite, were happily blended in his disposition: persevering, yet flexible; moderate, yet enterprising; just, yet merciful; stern in command, yet gentle in conversation. Nature also, as if desirous that such admirable qualities of mind should be set off to the greatest advantage, had bestowed on him all bodily accomplishments, vigour, dignity, and an engaging open countenance.

His second son, Edward, succeeded him on the throne. To him succeeded Athelstan, his natural son, the illegitimacy of his birth not being then deemed a sufficient obstacle to his inheriting the crown. He died at Gloucester, after a reign of sixteen years, and was succeeded by his brother



Edmund, who, like the rest of his predecessors, met with disturbance from the Northumbrians on his accession to the throne, but his activity soon defeated their attempts. The resentment this monarch bore to men of an abandoned way of living, was the cause of his death. He was killed by Leoff, a robber, at a feast, where this villain had the insolence to intrude into the king's presence. His brother Edred, was appointed to succeed, and, like his predecessors, this monarch found himself at the head of a rebellious and refractory people. Edred implicitly submitted to the directions of Dunstan the monk, both in church and state; and the kingdom was in a fair way of being turned into a papal province, by this zealous ecclesiastic; but he was checked in the midst of his career by the death of the king, who died of a quinsy, in the tenth year of his reign.

Edwy, his nephew, who ascended the throne, his own sons being yet unfit to govern, was a prince of great personal accomplishments and a martial disposition. But he was now come to the government of the kingdom in which he had an enemy to contend with, against whom military virtues could be of little service. Dunstan who had governed during the former reign, was resolved to omit nothing of his authority in this; and Edwy, immediately upon his accession, found himself involved in a quarrel with the monks, whose rage neither his accomplishments nor his virtues could mitigate.

Among other instances of their cruelty, the following is recorded. There was a lady of the royal blood, named Elgiva, whose beauty had made a strong impression upon the young monarch's heart.



He had even ventured to marry her, contrary to the advice of his counsellors, as she was within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the canon law. On the day of his coronation, while his nobility were giving a loose to the more noisy pleasures of wine and festivity in the great hall, Edwy retired to his wife's apartment, where, in company with her mother, he enjoyed the more pleasing satisfaction of her conversation. Dunstan no sooner perceived his absence, than conjecturing the reason, rushed furiously into the apartment, and upbraiding him with all the bitterness of ecclesiastical rancour, dragged him forth in the most outrageous manner. Dunstan, it seems, was not without his enemies, for the king was advised to punish this insult, by bringing him to account for the money with which he had been intrusted during the last reign. This account the haughty monk refused to give in; and was, therefore, deprived of all the ecclesiastical and civil emoluments of which he had been in possession, and banished the kingdom. His exile only served to increase the reputation of his sanctity with the people; among the rest Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, was so far transported with the spirit of party, that he pronounced a divorce between Edwy and Elgiva. The king was unable to resist the indignation of the church, and consented to surrender his beautiful wife to its fury. Accordingly, Odo sent into the palace a party of soldiers, who seized the queen; and by his orders, branded her on the face with a hot iron. Not contented with this cruel vengeance, they carried her by force into Ireland, and there commanded her to remain in perpetual exile. This injunction, however, was too distressing for that



faithful woman to comply with; for being cured of her wound, and having obliterated the marks which had been made to deface her beauty, she once more ventured to return to the king, whom she still regarded as her husband. But she was taken prisoner by a party whom the archbishop had appointed to observe her conduct, and was put to death in the most cruel manner; the sinews of her legs being cut, and her body mangled, she was thus left to expire in the greatest agony. In the mean time, a secret revolt against Edwy became almost general; and Dunstan put himself at the head of the party. The malcontents at last proceeded to open rebellion, and having placed Edgar, the king's younger brother, a boy of about thirteen years of age, at their head, they soon put him in possession of all the northern parts of the kingdom. Edwy's power, and the number of his adherents, every day declining, he was at last obliged to consent to a partition of the kingdom; but his death, which happened soon after, freed his enemies from all farther inquietude, and gave Edgar peaceable possession of the government.

Edgar being placed on the throne by the influence of the monks, affected to be entirely guided by their direction in all his succeeding transactions, and little worthy of notice is mentioned of him, except his amour with Elfrida, which is of too singular a nature to be omitted. Edgar had long heard of the beauty of a young lady, whose name was Elfrida, daughter of the earl of Devonshire; but, unwilling to credit common fame in this particular, he sent Ethelwald, his favourite friend, to see, and inform him if Elfrida was indeed that incomparable woman report had described her, Ethelwald



arriving at the earl's, had no sooner cast his eyes upon that nobleman's daughter, than he became desperately enamoured of her himself. Such was the violence of his passion, that forgetting his master's intentions, he solicited only his own interest, and demanded for himself the beautiful Elfrida from her father in marriage. The favourite of a king was not likely to find a refusal; the earl gave his consent, and their nuptials were performed in private. Upon his return to court, which was shortly after, he assured the king, that her riches alone, and her high quality, had been the cause of her fame, and he appeared amazed how the world could talk so much and so unjustly of her charms. The king was satisfied, and no longer felt any curiosity, while Ethelwald secretly triumphed in his address. When he had, by this deceit, weaned the king from his purpose, he took an opportunity, after some time, to turn the conversation on Elfrida, representing, that, though the fortune of the earl of Devonshire's daughter would be a trifle to a king, it would be an immense acquisition to a needy subject. He therefore humbly entreated permission to pay his addresses to her, as she was the richest heiress in the kingdom. A request so seemingly reasonable, was readily complied with; Ethelwald returned to his wife, and their nuptials were solemnized in public. His greatest care, however, was employed in keeping her from court; and he took every precaution to prevent her from appearing before a king so susceptible of love, while she was so capable of inspiring that passion. But it was impossible to keep his treachery long concealed. Edgar was soon informed of the whole transaction; but



but dissembling his resentment, he took occasion to visit that part of the country where this miracle of beauty was detained, accompanied by Ethelwald, who reluctantly attended him thither. Upon coming near the lady's habitation, he told him, that he had a curiosity to see his wife, of whom he had formerly heard so much, and desired to be introduced as his acquaintance. Ethelwald, thunderstruck at the proposal, did all in his power, but in vain, to dissuade him. All he could obtain, was permission to go before, on pretence of preparing for the king's reception. On his arrival, he fell at his wife's feet, confessing what he had done to be possessed of her charms, and conjuring her to conceal as much as possible her beauty from the king, who was but too susceptible of its power. Elfrida, little obliged to him for a passion that deprived her of a crown, promised compliance; but, prompted either by vanity or revenge, adorned her person with the most exquisite art, and called up all her beauty on the occasion. The event answered her expectations; the king no sooner saw, than he loved her, and was instantly resolved to obtain her. The better to effect his intentions, he concealed his passion from the husband, and took leave with a seeming indifference; but his revenge was not the less certain and fatal. Ethelwald was some time after sent into Northumberland, upon pretence of urgent affairs, and was found murdered in a wood by the way. Some say he was stabbed by the king's own hand; some, that he only commanded the assassination; however this be, Elfrida was invited soon after to court, by the king's own order, and their nuptials were performed with the usual solemnity. The



monarch died, after a reign of sixteen years, in the thirty-third year of his age, being succeeded by his son, Edward, whom he had by his first marriage with the daughter of the earl of Ordmer.

Edward, surnamed the Martyr, was made king by the interest of the monks, and lived about four years after his accession. In his reign, there is nothing remarkable, if we except his tragical and memorable end. Hunting one day, near Corfe Castle, where Elfrida, his mother-in-law, resided, he thought it his duty to pay her a visit, although he was not attended by any of his retinue. There desiring some liquor to be brought him, as he was thirsty, while he was yet holding the cup to his head, one of Elfrida's domestics, instructed for that purpose, stabbed him in the back. The king, finding himself wounded, put spurs to his horse; but, fainting with the loss of blood, he fell from the saddle, and his foot sticking in the stirrup, he was dragged along by his horse till he died.

Ethelred the Second, the son of Edgar and Elfrida, succeeded; a weak and irresolute monarch, incapable of governing a kingdom, or of providing for its safety. During his reign, the old and terrible enemies, the Danes, were daily gaining ground. The inexperience of Ethelred appeared to give a favourable opportunity for renewing their depredations; and, accordingly, they landed on several parts of the coast, spreading their usual terror and devastation. As they lived indiscriminately among the English, a resolution was taken for a general massacre; and Ethelred, by a policy incident to weak princes, embraced the cruel resolution of putting them all to the sword. This plot was carried on with



such secrecy, that it was executed in one day, and all the Danes in England were destroyed without mercy. But this massacre, so perfidious in contriving, and so cruel in the execution, only prepared the way for greater calamities.

While the English were yet congratulating each other upon their deliverance from an inveterate enemy, Sweyn, king of Denmark, who had been informed of their treacherous cruelties, appeared off the western coasts with a large fleet, meditating slaughter, and furious with revenge. Ethelred was obliged to fly into Normandy, and the whole country thus came under the power of Sweyn, his victorious rival.

Canute, afterwards surnamed the Great, succeeded Sweyn, as king of Denmark, and also as general of the Danish forces in England. The contest between him and Edmund Ironside, successor to Ethelred, was managed with great obstinacy and perseverance; the first battle that was fought appeared undecisive; a second followed, in which the Danes were victorious; but Edmund still having interest enough to bring a third army into the field, the Danish and English nobility, equally harassed by these convulsions, obliged their kings to come to a compromise, and to divide the kingdom between them by treaty. Canute reserved to himself the northern parts of the kingdom, the southern parts were left to Edmund; but this prince being murdered about a month after the treaty, by his two chamberlains, at Oxford, Canute was left in peaceable possession of the whole kingdom.

Canute is represented by some historians as one of the first characters in those barbarous ages. The



piety of the latter part of his life, and the resolute valour of the former, were topics that filled the mouths of his courtiers with flattery and praise. They even affected to think his power uncontrollable, and that all things would be obedient to his command. Canute, sensible of their adulation, is said to have taken the following method to reprove them : — He ordered his chair to be set on the sea-shore while the tide was coming in, and commanded the sea to retire. « Thou art under my dominion, » cried he; « the land upon which I sit is mine; I charge thee, therefore, to approach no farther, nor dare to wet the feet of thy sovereign. » He feigned to sit some time in expectation of submission, till the waves began to surround him : then turning to his courtiers, he observed that the titles of Lord and Master belonged only to him whom both earth and seas were ready to obey. Thus feared and respected, he lived many years, honoured with the surname of Great for his power, but deserving it still more for his virtues. He died at Shaftsbury, in the nineteenth year of his reign, leaving behind him three sons, Sweyn, Harold and Hardicanute. Sweyn was crowned king of Norway; Hardicanute was put in possession of Denmark; and Harold succeeded his father on the English throne.

To Harold succeeded his brother, Hardicanute, whose title was readily acknowledged both by the Danes and the English; and, upon his arrival from the continent, he was received with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy : but his violent and unjust government was of short duration : he died two years after his accession, in consequence of excess at the marriage of a Danish lord.



The disorders of the Danish monarchs once more induced the English to place a monarch of the Saxon line upon the throne : and accordingly, Edward, surnamed the Confessor, was by the general consent, crowned king; and having long groaned under a foreign yoke, they now set no bounds to their joy, at finding the line of their ancient monarchs restored. As he had been bred in the Norman court, he shewed, in every instance, a predilection for the customs, laws, and even the natives of that country; and among the rest of his faults, though he had married Editha, the daughter of Godwin, yet, either from mistaken piety, or fixed aversion, during his whole reign he abstained from her bed. Thus having no legitimate issue, and being wholly engrossed during the continuance of a long reign, with the visions of superstition, he was at last surprised by sickness, which brought him to his end, on the 5th of January, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign.

Harold, the son of a popular nobleman, whose name was Godwin, and whose intrigues and virtues seemed to give a right to his pretensions, ascended the throne without any opposition. But neither his valour, his justice, nor his popularity, was able to secure him from the misfortunes attendant upon an ill-grounded title. His pretensions were opposed by William, duke of Normandy, who insisted that the crown of right belonged to him, it being bequeathed to him by Edward the Confessor.

William, who was afterwards called the Conqueror, was the natural son of Robert, duke of Normandy. His mother's name was Arlette, a beautiful maid of Falaise, whom Robert fell in



love with as she stood gazing at the door whilst he passed through the town. William, who was the offspring of this amour, owed a part of his greatness to his birth, but still more to his own personal merit. His body was vigorous, his mind capacious and noble, and his courage not to be repressed by apparent danger. Upon coming to his dukedom of Normandy, though yet very young, he on all sides opposed his rebellious subjects, and repressed foreign invaders, while his valour and conduct prevailed in every action. The tranquillity which he had thus established in his dominions, induced him to extend his views: and some overtures made him by Edward the Confessor, in the latter part of his reign, who was wavering in the choice of a successor, inflamed his ambition with a desire of succeeding to the English throne. The pope himself was not behind the rest in favouring his pretensions; and either influenced by the apparent justice of his claims, or by the hopes of extending the authority of the church, he immediately pronounced Harold an usurper. With such favourable incentives, William soon found himself at the head of a chosen army of sixty thousand men, all equipped in the most warlike and splendid manner. It was in the beginning of summer, that he embarked this powerful body on board a fleet of three hundred sail; and, after some small opposition from the weather, landed at Pevensey, on the coast of Sussex, with resolute tranquillity.

Harold who seemed resolved to defend his right to the crown, and retain that sovereignty which he had received from the people who had only a right to bestow it, was now returning, flushed with



conquest from defeating the Norwegians, who had invaded the kingdom, with all the forces he had employed in that expedition, and all he could invite or collect in the country through which he passed. His army was composed of active and valiant troops, in high spirits, strongly attached to their king, and eager to engage. On the other hand, the army of William consisted of the flower of all the continent, and had long been inured to danger. The men of Bretagne, Bologne, Flanders, Poitou, Maine, Orleans, France, and Normandy, were all voluntarily united under his command. England never before, nor ever since, saw two such armies, drawn up to dispute its crown. The day before the battle, William sent an offer to Harold to decide the quarrel between them by single combat, and thus to spare the blood of thousands; but Harold refused, and said, he would leave it to the God of armies to determine. Both armies, therefore, that night pitched in sight of each other, expecting the dawning of the next day with impatience. The English passed the night in songs and feasting, the Normans in devotion and prayer.

The next morning at seven, as soon as day appeared, both armies were drawn up in array against each other. Harold appeared in the centre of his forces, leading on his army on foot, that his men might be more encouraged, by seeing their king exposed to an equality of danger. William fought on horseback, leading on his army that moved at once, singing the song of Roland, one of the famous chiefs of their country. The Normans began the fight with their cross-bows, which, at first, galled and surprised the English, and as their ranks



were close, their arrows did great execution. But soon they came to closer fight, and the English, with their bills, hewed down their adversaries with great slaughter. Confusion was spreading among the ranks, when William, who found himself on the brink of destruction, hastened with a select band to the relief of his forces. His presence restored the suspense of battle; he was seen in every place, endeavouring to pierce the ranks of the enemy, and had three horses slain under him. At length; perceiving that the English line continued impene- trable, he pretended to give ground, which, as he expected, drew the enemy from their ranks, and he was instantly ready to take advantage of their disorder. Upon a signal given, the Normans imme- diately returned to the charge with greater fury than before, broke the English troops, and pursued them to a rising ground. It was in this extremity, that Harold was seen flying from rank to rank, rallying and inspiring his troops with vigour; and though he had toiled all day, till near night-fall, in the front of his Kentishmen, yet he still seemed unabated in force or courage, keeping his men to the post of honour. Once more, therefore, the victory seemed to turn against the Normans, and they fell in great number, so that the fierceness and obstinacy of this memorable battle was often renewed by the courage of the leaders, whenever that of the soldiers began to slacken. Fortune, at length, determined a victory that valour was unable to decide. Harold making a furious onset at the head of his troops against the Norman heavy-armed infantry, was shot into the brains by an arrow; and his two valiant brothers, fighting by his side, shared the same fate. He fell



with his sword in his hand, amidst heaps of slain; and after the battle the royal corpse could hardly be distinguished among the dead.

This was the end of the Saxon monarchy in England, which had continued for more than six hundred years.

## CHAPTER IV.

### WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

A. D. 1066-1087.

As soon as William passed the Thames, at Wallingford, Stigand, the primate, made submissions to him in the name of the clergy; and before he came within sight of the city, all the chief nobility came into his camp, and declared an intention of yielding to his authority. William was glad of being thus peaceably put in possession of a throne which several of his predecessors had not gained without repeated victories.

But in order to give his invasion all the sanction possible, he was crowned at Westminster by the archbishop of York, and took the oath usual in the times of the Saxon and Danish kings, which was, to protect and defend the church, to observe the laws of the realm, and to govern the people with impartiality. Having thus, by a mixture of vigour and lenity, brought the English to an entire submission, he resolved to return to the continent, there to enjoy the congratulation of his ancient subjects; but his absence in England produced the most fatal effects. His officers, being no longer controlled



by his justice, thought this a fit opportunity for extortion; while the English, no longer awed by his presence, thought it the happiest occasion for vindicating their freedom.

The English had entered into a conspiracy to cut off their invaders, and fixed the day for their intended massacre, which was to be Ash-Wednesday, during the time of divine service, when all the Normans would be unarmed as penitents, according to the discipline of the times. But William's return quickly disconcerted all their schemes; and from that time he began to lose all confidence in his English subjects, and to regard them as inveterate and irreconcilable enemies. Having already raised a number of fortresses in the kingdom, to check the tumultuous efforts of a discontented multitude; he determined to treat them as a conquered nation, to indulge his own avarice, and that of his followers, by numerous confiscations, and to secure his power by humbling all who were able to make any resistance. He proceeded to confiscate all the estates of the English gentry, and to grant them liberally to his Norman followers. Thus all the ancient and honourable families were reduced to beggary, and the English found themselves entirely excluded from every honour or preferment; and to keep the clergy as much as possible in his interests, he appointed none but his own countrymen to the most considerable church dignities, and even displaced Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, upon some frivolous pretences.

William having crushed several conspiracies, and by punishing the malcontents, thus secured the peace of his dominions, now expected rest from his



labours : and finding none either willing or powerful enough to oppose him , he hoped that the end of his reign would be marked with prosperity and peace. But he found enemies where he least expected them , for his last troubles were excited by his own children , from the opposing of whom he could expect to reap neither glory nor gain. He had three sons , Robert , William , and Henry , besides several daughters. Robert , his eldest son , surnamed Curthose , from the shortness of his legs , inherited all the bravery of his family and nation , but was rather bold than prudent ; and was often heard to express his jealousy of his two brothers , William and Henry. These , by greater assiduity , had wrought upon the credulity and affections of the king , and consequently were the most obnoxious to Robert , whose resentful mind soon found or made a cause for an open rupture. The princes were one day in sport together , and in the idle petulance of play , took it into their head to throw water upon their elder brother , as he passed through the court , on leaving their apartment. Robert , all alive to suspicion , quickly turned this frolic into a studied indignity , and having these jealousies still farther inflamed by one of his favourites , he drew his sword , and ran up stairs with intent to take revenge. The whole castle was quickly filled with tumult , and it was not without some difficulty , that the king himself was able to appease it. But he could not allay the animosity which , from that moment , prevailed in his family. Robert , attended by several of his confederates , withdrew to Rouen that very night , hoping to surprise the castle , but his design was defeated by the governor.



The flame being thus kindled, the popular character of the prince, and a sympathy of manners, engaged all the young nobility of Normandy and Maine, as well as of Anjou and Brittany, to espouse his quarrel; even his mother, it is said, aided him in this obstinate resistance by private encouragement. This unnatural contest continued for several years to inflame the Norman state; and William was at last obliged to have recourse to England for supporting his authority against his son. Accordingly, drawing an army of Englishmen together, he led them over to Normandy, where he soon compelled Robert and his adherents to quit the field, and he was quickly reinstated in all his dominions.

William had scarcely put an end to this transaction, when he felt a very severe blow in the death of Matilda, his queen; and received information of a general insurrection in Maine, the nobility of which had been always averse to the Norman government. Upon his arrival on the continent, he found that the insurgents had been secretly assisted and excited by the king of France, whose policy consisted in lessening the Norman power. William's displeasure was not a little increased by the account he received of some railleries which that monarch had thrown out against him. It seems that William, who was become corpulent, had been detained in bed some time by sickness; and Philip was heard to say, that he only lay-in of a big belly. This so provoked the English monarch, that he sent him word, he should soon be up, and would at his churching, present him such a number of tapers, as would set the kingdom of France in a flame,

In order to perform this promise, he levied a  
strong



strong army, and entering the Isle of France, destroyed and burned all the villages and houses without opposition, and took the town of Mante, which he reduced to ashes. But the progress of these hostilities was stopped by an accident which shortly after put an end to William's life. His horse chancing to place his fore-feet on some hot ashes, plunged so violently, that the rider was thrown forward, and bruised upon the pommel of the saddle to such a degree, that he suffered a relapse, of which he died shortly after at a little village near Rouen.

## CHAPTER V.

WILLIAM RUFUS.

A. D. 1087-1100.

WILLIAM, surnamed Rufus, from the colour of his hair, was appointed, by the king's will, his successor, while the elder son, Robert, was left in possession of Normandy. Nevertheless, the Norman barons were, from the beginning, displeased at the division of the empire by the late king; they eagerly desired an union as before, and looked upon Robert as the proper owner of the whole. A powerful conspiracy was, therefore, carried on against William; and Odo the late king's brother, undertook to conduct it to maturity.

William, sensible of the danger that threatened him, endeavoured to gain the affections of the native English, whom he prevailed upon, by promises of preference in the distribution of his favours, to espouse his interests. He was soon at the head of



a numerous army, and shewed himself ready to oppose all who should dispute his pretensions. In the mean time, Robert, instead of employing his money in levies to support his friends in England, squandered it away in idle expences, and unmerited benefits, so that he procrastinated his departure till the opportunity was lost; while William exerted himself, with incredible activity, to dissipate the confederacy before his brother could arrive. Nor was this difficult to effect; the appearance of the king soon reduced the conspirators to implore his mercy. He granted them their lives, but confiscated all their estates, and banished them out of the kingdom.

A new breach was made some time after between the brothers, in which Rufus found means to encroach still farther upon Robert's possessions. Every conspiracy thus detected, served to enrich the king, who took care to apply to his own use those treasures which had been amassed for the purpose of dethroning him.

But the memory of these transient broils and unsuccessful treasons was now totally eclipsed by one of the most noted enterprises that ever adorned the annals of nations, or excited the attention of mankind; I mean the Crusades, which were now first projected. Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens, in Picardy, a man of great zeal, courage, and piety, had made a pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, and beheld, with indignation, the cruel manner in which the Christians were treated by the infidels who were in possession of that place. He preached the Crusade over Europe by the pope's permission, and men of all ranks



flew to arms with the utmost alacrity, to rescue the Holy Land from the Infidels, and each bore the sign of the cross upon his right shoulder, as a mark of his devotion to the cause. In the midst of this universal ardour that was diffused over Europe, men were not entirely forgetful of their temporal interests: for some hoping for a more magnificent settlement in the soft regions of Asia, sold their European property for whatever they could obtain, contented with receiving any thing for what they were predetermined to relinquish. Among the princes who felt and acknowledged this general spirit of enterprise, was Robert, duke of Normandy. The Crusade was entirely adapted to his inclinations and his circumstances; he was brave, zealous, covetous of glory, poor, harassed by insurrections, and, what was more than all, naturally fond of change. In order, therefore, to supply money to defray the necessary charges of so expensive an undertaking, he offered to mortgage his dukedom in Normandy to his brother Rufus for a stipulated sum of money. This sum, which was no greater than ten thousand marks, was readily promised by Rufus, whose ambition was upon the watch to seize every advantage.

But though the cession of Maine and Normandy greatly increased the king's territories, they added but little to his real power, as his new subjects were composed of men of independent spirits, more ready to dispute than to obey his commands. Many were the revolts and insurrections which he was obliged to quell in person; and no sooner was one conspiracy suppressed, than another arose to give him fresh disquietude.



However, Rufus proceeded, careless of approbation or censure, and only intent upon extending his dominions either by purchase or conquest. The earl of Poitiers and Guienne, inflamed with the desire of going upon the Crusade, had gathered an immense multitude for that expedition, but wanted money. He had recourse, therefore, to Rufus, and offered to mortgage all his dominions, which the king accepted with his usual avidity; and had prepared a fleet and an army, in order to take possession of the rich provinces thus consigned to his trust. But an accident put an end to all his ambitious projects; he was shot by an arrow that Sir Walter Tyrrell discharged at a deer in the New Forest, which glancing from a tree, struck the king to the heart. He dropt dead instantaneously; while the innocent author of his death, terrified at the accident, hastened to the sea-shore, embarked for France, and joined the Crusade.

## CHAPTER VI.

HENRY I. SURNAMED BEAUCLERC.

A. D. 1100-1135.

**H**ENRY, the late king's younger brother, who had been hunting in the New Forest, when Rufus was slain, took the earliest advantage of the occasion, and hastening to Winchester resolved to secure the royal treasure, which he knew to be the best assistant in seconding his aims. The barons, as well as the people, acquiesced in a claim which they



were unprovided to resist. To ingratiate himself with the people, he expelled from court all the ministers of his brother's debauchery and arbitrary power. One thing only remained to confirm his claims without danger of a rival. The English remembered their Saxon monarchs with gratitude, and beheld them excluded the throne with regret. There still remained some of the descendants of that favourite line; and, among others, Matilda the niece of Edgar Atheling, who having declined all pretensions to royalty, was bred up in a convent, and had actually taken the veil. Upon her Henry first fixed his eyes as a proper consort, by whose means the long breach between the Saxon and Norman interests would be finally united. It only remained to get over the scruple of her being a nun: but this a council devoted to his interests, readily admitted; and the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp.

It was at this unfavourable juncture that Robert returned from abroad, and after taking possession of his native dominions, laid his claim to the crown of England. But proposals for an accommodation being made, it was stipulated, that Robert, upon the payment of a certain sum, should resign his pretensions to England; and that, if either of the princes died without issue, the other should succeed to his dominions. This treaty being ratified, the armies on each side were disbanded; and Robert, having lived two months in harmony with his brother, returned to his own dominions.

But Robert's indiscretion soon rendered him unfit to govern any state: he was totally averse to business, and only studious of the more splendid amusements or employments of life. His servants pillaged him



without compunction ; and he is described as lying whole days in bed for want of clothes , of which they had robbed him. His subjects were treated still more deplorably ; for being under the command of petty and rapacious tyrants , who plundered them without mercy , the whole country was become a scene of violence and depredation. It was in this miserable exigence , that the Normans at length had recourse to Henry , from whose wise administration of his own dominions , they expected a similitude of prosperity , should he take the reins of theirs. Henry very readily promised to redress their grievances , as he knew it would be the direct method to second his own ambition. The year ensuing , therefore , he landed in Normandy with a strong army , took some of the principal towns ; and a battle ensuing , Robert's forces were totally overthrown , and he himself taken prisoner , with near ten thousand of his men , and all the considerable barons who had adhered to his misfortunes. This victory was followed by the final reduction of Normandy , while Henry returned in triumph to England , leading with him his captive brother , whom he detained a prisoner during the remainder of his life , which was no less than twenty-eight years : and he died in the Castle of Cardiff in Glamorganshire. It is even said by some , that he was deprived of his sight by a red-hot copper bason applied to his eyes ; while his brother attempted to stifle the reproaches of his conscience , by founding the abbey of Reading , which was then considered as a sufficient atonement for every degree of barbarity.

Fortune now seemed to smile upon Henry , and



promise a long succession of felicity. He was in peaceable possession of two powerful states, and had a son who was acknowledged the undisputed heir, arrived at his eighteenth year, whom he loved most tenderly. His daughter, Matilda, was also married to the emperor, Henry V of Germany. All his prospects, however, were at once clouded by unforeseen misfortunes and accidents. The king, from the facility with which he usurped the crown, dreading that his family might be subverted with the same ease, took care to have his son recognized as his successor by the states of England, and carried him over to Normandy to receive the homage of the barons of that duchy. After performing this requisite ceremony, Henry returning triumphantly to England, brought with him a numerous retinue, of the chief nobility, who seemed to share in his successes. In one of the vessels of the fleet, his son, and several young noblemen, the companions of his pleasures, went together to render the passage more agreeable. The king set sail from Barfleur, and was soon carried by a fair wind out of sight of land. The prince was detained by some accident; and his sailors, as well as their captain, Fitz-Stephen, having spent the interval in drinking, became so disorderly, that they ran the ship upon a rock, and immediately it was dashed to pieces. The prince was put into the boat, and might have escaped, had he not been called back by the cries of Maude, his natural sister. He was at first conveyed out of danger himself, but could not leave a person so dear to perish without an effort to save her. He, therefore, prevailed upon his sailors to row back and take her in. The approach of the boat giving



several others, who had been left upon the wreck, the hopes of saving their lives, numbers leaped in, and the whole went to the bottom. Above a hundred and forty young noblemen, of the principal families of England and Normandy, were lost on this occasion. A butcher of Rouen was the only person on board who escaped; he clung to the mast, and was taken up the next morning by some fishermen. Fitz-Stephen, the captain, while the butcher was thus buffeting the waves for his life, swam up to him, and enquired if the prince was yet living; when being told that he had perished, then I will not out-live him, said the captain, and immediately sunk to the bottom. The shrieks of these unfortunate people were heard on the shore; and the noise even reached the king's ship, but the cause was then unknown. Henry entertained hopes for three days, that his son had put into some distant port in England; but when certain intelligence of the calamity was brought him, he fainted away, and was never seen to smile from that moment to the day of his death, which followed some time after at St. Dennis, a little town in Normandy, from eating too plentifully of lampreys, a dish he was particularly fond of. He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, leaving by will his daughter Matilda heiress of all his dominions.

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## CHAPTER VII.

STEPHEN.

A. D. 1135-1154.

**N**O sooner was the king known to be dead, than Stephen, son of Adela, the king's sister, and the count of Blois, conscious of his own power and influence, resolved to secure to himself the possession of what he so long desired. He therefore hastened from Normandy, and arriving at London, was immediately saluted king by all the lower ranks of people. His next step was to gain over the clergy; and, for that purpose, his brother, the bishop of Winchester, exerted all his influence among them with good success.

The first acts of an usurper are always popular. Stephen, in order to secure his tottering throne, passed a charter, granting several privileges to the different orders of the state. To the nobility, a permission to hunt in their own forests; to the clergy, a speedy filling of all vacant benefices; and to the people, restoration of the laws of Edward the Confessor. To fix himself still more securely, he took possession of the royal treasures at Winchester, and had his title ratified by the pope with a part of the money.

Matilda, however, asserting her claim to the crown, landed upon the coast of Sussex, assisted by Robert, earl of Gloucester, natural son of the late king. The whole of Matilda's retinue, upon this occasion, amounted to no more than an hundred



and forty knights, who immediately took possession of Arundel castle : but she soon increased the number of her partizans, and her forces every day seemed to gain ground. Meantime Stephen, being assured of her arrival, flew to besiege Arundel, where she had taken refuge, and where she was protected by the queen dowager, who secretly favoured her pretensions. This fortress was too feeble to promise a long defence, and would have been soon taken, had it not been represented to the king, that as it was a castle belonging to the queen dowager, it would be an infringement on the respect due to her, to attempt taking it by force. There was a spirit of generosity mixed with the rudeness of the times, that unaccountably prevailed in many transactions ; Stephen permitted Matilda to come forth in safety, and had her conveyed with security to Bristol, another fortress equally strong with that from whence he permitted her to retire. It would be tedious to relate the various skirmishes on either side, in pursuance of their respective pretensions ; it will suffice to say, that Matilda's forces increased every day ; and a victory gained by the queen threw Stephen from the throne, and exalted Matilda in his room, who was crowned at Winchester with all imaginable solemnity.

Matilda, however, affected to treat the nobility with a degree of disdain, to which they had long been unaccustomed ; so that the fickle nation once more began to pity their deposed king. The bishop of Winchester fomented these discontents ; and when he found the people ripe for a tumult, detached a party of his friends and vassals to block up the city of London, where the queen then re-



sided, and measures were taken to instigate the Londoners to a revolt, and to seize her person. Matilda having timely notice of this conspiracy fled to Winchester, whither the bishop, still her secret enemy, followed her. His party was soon sufficient to bid the queen open defiance; and to besiege her in the very place where she first received his benediction. There she continued for some time, but the town being pressed by famine, she was obliged to escape, while her brother, the earl of Gloucester, endeavouring to follow, was taken prisoner, and exchanged for Stephen, who still continued a captive. Thus a sudden revolution once more took place; Matilda was deposed, and obliged to seek for safety in Oxford, while Stephen was again recognized as king.

But he was now to enter the lists with a new opposer, Henry, the son of Matilda, who had now reached his sixteenth year, and gave the greatest hopes of being one day a valiant leader and a consummate politician. With the wishes of the people in his favour, he resolved to reclaim his hereditary kingdom, and to dispute once more Stephen's usurped pretensions; and accordingly made an invasion on England, where he was immediately joined by almost all the barons of the kingdom. Stephen tried every method to anticipate the purpose of his invasion; but finding it impossible, he was obliged to have recourse to treaty. It was therefore agreed that Stephen should reign during his life; and that justice should be administered in his name: that Henry should, on Stephen's death, succeed to the kingdom: and William, Stephen's son, should inherit Boulogne, and his patrimonial estate. After all the barons had



sworn to this treaty, which filled the whole kingdom with joy, Henry evacuated England; and Stephen returned to the peaceable enjoyment of his throne. His reign, however, was soon after terminated by his death, which happened about a year after the treaty at Canterbury, where he was interred.

## CHAPTER VIII.

HENRY II.

A. D. 1154-1189.

THE first act of Henry's government gave the people a happy omen of his future wise administration. Conscious of his power, he began to correct those abuses, and to resume those privileges, which had been extorted from the weakness or the credulity of his predecessors. He immediately dismissed all those mercenary soldiers who committed infinite disorders in the nation. He resumed many of those benefactions which had been made to churches and monasteries in the former reigns. He gave charters to several towns, by which the citizens claimed their freedom and privileges, independent of any superior but himself. These charters were the groundwork of English liberty. The struggles which had before this time been, whether the king, or the barons, or the clergy, should be despotic over the people, now began to assume a new aspect; and a fourth order, namely, that of the more opulent of the people, began to claim a share in administration. Thus was the feudal government at first impaired; and liberty began to be more equally diffused throughout the nation.



Henry being thus become the most powerful prince of his age, the undisputed monarch of England, possessed of more than a third of France, might naturally be expected to reign with very little opposition for the future. But it happened otherwise.

The famous Thomas à Becket, the first man of English extraction who had, since the Norman conquest, risen to any share of power, was the son of a citizen of London. Having received his early education in the schools of that metropolis, he resided some time at Paris; and on his return became clerk in the sheriff's office. From that humble station, he rose through the gradations of office, until at last he was made archbishop of Canterbury. No sooner was he fixed in this high station, which rendered him for life the second person in the kingdom, than he endeavoured to retrieve the character of sanctity, which his former levities might have appeared to oppose. He was in his person the most mortified man that could be seen. He wore sackcloth next his skin. He changed it so seldom that it was filled with dirt and vermin. His usual diet was bread, his drink water, which he rendered farther unpalatable by the mixture of unsavory herbs. His back was mangled by frequent discipline. He every day washed on his knees the feet of thirteen beggars. Thus pretending to sanctity, he set up for being a defender of the privileges of the clergy, which had for a long time become enormous, and which it was Henry's aim to abridge.

An opportunity soon offered, that gave him a popular pretext for beginning his intended reformation. A man in holy orders had debauched the daughter of a gentleman in Worcestershire: and then murdered the father, to prevent the effects of his resent-



ment. The atrociousness of the crime produced a spirit of indignation among the people : and the king insisted that the assassin should be tried by the civil magistrate. This Becket opposed, alledging the privileges of the church.

In order to determine this matter, the king summoned a general council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon, to whom he submitted this great and important affair, and desired their concurrence. These councils seem at that time convened rather to give authenticity to the king's decrees, than to enact laws that were to bind their posterity. A number of regulations were there drawn up, which were afterwards well known under the title of the Constitutions of Clarendon, and were then voted without opposition. By these regulations it was enacted, that clergymen accused of any crime should be tried in the civil courts, that laymen should not be tried in the spiritual courts, except by legal reputable witnesses. These, with some others of less consequence, or implied in the above, to the number of sixteen, were readily subscribed to by all the bishops present; Becket himself, who at first shewed some reluctance, added his name to the number. But Alexander, who was then pope, condemned them in the strongest terms, and annulled them.

This produced a contest between the king and Becket, who took part with his holiness, and, with an intrepidity peculiar to himself, arraying himself in his episcopal vestments, and with a cross in his hand, went forward to the king's palace, and entering the royal apartments, sat down, holding up the cross as his banner of protection. There he put himself, in the most solemn manner, under



the protection of the supreme pontiff : and upon receiving a refusal to leave the kingdom, he secretly withdrew in disguise, and found means to pass over to the continent, where his intrepidity, joined to his apparent sanctity, gained him a very favourable reception.

The pope and he were not remiss to retort their fulminations, and to shake the very foundation of the king's authority ; Becket compared himself to Christ, who had been condemned by a lay tribunal : and who was crucified anew in the present oppressions under which the church laboured. He issued out a censure, excommunicating the king's chief ministers by name, all that were concerned in sequestering the revenues of his see, and all who obeyed or favoured the Constitutions of Clarendon. Frequent attempts, indeed, were made towards an accommodation ; but the mutual jealousies that each bore to the other, and their anxiety not to lose the least advantage in the negociation, often protracted this desirable treaty.

At length, however, the mutual aim of both made a reconciliation necessary ; but nothing could exceed the insolence with which Becket conducted himself upon his first landing in England. Instead of retiring quietly to his diocese, with that modesty which became a man just pardoned by his king, he made a progress through Kent, in all the splendour and magnificence of a sovereign pontiff. As he approached Southwark, the clergy, the laity, men of all ranks and ages came forth to meet him, and celebrated his triumphal entry with hymns of joy. Thus confident of the voice and the hearts of the people, he began to launch forth his thunders against those



who had been his former opposers. The archbishop of York, who had crowned Henry's eldest son in his absence, was the first against whom he denounced sentence of suspension. The bishops of London and Salisbury he actually excommunicated. One man he excommunicated for having spoken against him; and another, for having cut off the tail of one of his horses.

Henry was then in Normandy, while the primate was thus triumphantly parading through the kingdom; and it was not without the utmost indignation that he received information of his turbulent insolence. When the suspended and excommunicated prelates arrived with their complaints, his anger knew no bounds. He broke forth in the most acrimonious expressions against that arrogant churchman, whom he had raised from the lowest station, to be the plague of his life, and the continued disturber of his government. The archbishop of York remarked to him, that so long as Becket lived, he could never expect to enjoy peace and tranquillity; and the king himself burst out into an exclamation, that he had no friends about him, or he would not so long have been exposed to the insults of that ungrateful hypocrite. These words induced four of his most resolute attendants to gratify their monarch's secret inclinations, and, being joined by some assistants at the place of their meeting, proceeded to Canterbury with all haste. Advancing directly to Becket's house, and entering his apartments, they reproached him very fiercely for the rashness and insolence of his conduct. During their altercation, the time approached for Becket to assist at vespers, whither he went unguarded, the



conspirators following , and preparing for their attempt. As soon as he had reached the altar, where it is just to think he aspired at the glory of martyrdom , they all fell upon him ; and having cloven his head with repeated blows , he dropt down dead before the altar of St. Benedict , which was besmeared with his blood and brains.

Nothing could exceed the king's consternation upon receiving the first news of this prelate's catastrophe. He was instantly sensible that the murder would be ultimately imputed to him ; and , in order to divert the minds of the people to a different objet, he undertook an expedition against Ireland. The Irish were at that time in pretty much the same situation as the English had been , after the first invasion of the Saxons. They had been early converted to christianisty ; and , for three or four centuries after, possessed a very large proportion of the learning of the times. Being undisturbed by foreign invasions, and perhaps too poor to invite the rapacity of conquerors, they enjoyed a peaceful life , which they gave up to piety, and such learning as was then thought necessary to promote it. Of their learning, their arts , their piety , and even their polished manners, too many monuments remain to this day for us to make the least doubt concerning them ; but it is equally true, that in time they fell from these advantages ; and their degenerate posterity, at the period we are now speaking of, were wrapt in the darkest barbarity.

At the time when Henry first planned the invasion of the island, it was divided into five principalities, namely, Leinster, Meath, Munster, Ulster, and Connaught; each governed by its respective monarch.



As it had been usual for one or other of those to take the lead in their wars, he was denominated sole monarch of the kingdom, and possessed of a power resembling that of the early Saxon monarchs in England. Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, was then advanced to this dignity, and Dermot M'Morrogh was king of Leinster. This last named prince, a weak, licentious tyrant, had carried off and ravished the daughter of the king of Meath, who being strengthened by the alliance of the king of Connaught invaded the ravisher's dominions, and expelled him from his kingdom. This prince, thus justly punished, had recourse to Henry, who was at that time in Guienne; and offered to hold his kingdom of the English crown, in case he recovered it by the king's assistance. Henry readily accepted the offer; but being at that time embarrassed by more near interests, he only gave Dermot letters patent, by which he empowered all his subjects to aid the Irish prince in the recovery of his dominions. Dermot, relying on this authority, returned to Bristol, where, after some difficulty, he formed a treaty with Richard, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, who agreed to reinstate him in his dominions, upon condition of his being married to his daughter Eva, and declared heir of all his territory. Being thus assured of assistance, he returned privately to Ireland, and concealed himself during the winter in the monastery of Ferns, which he had founded. Robert Fitz-Stephens was the first knight, who was able, the ensuing spring, to fulfil his engagements, by landing with an hundred and thirty knights, sixty esquires, and three hundred archers. They were soon after joined by Maurice Pender.



gast, who about the same time brought over ten knights and sixty archers; and with this small body of forces they resolved on besieging Wexford, which was to be their's by treaty. This town was quickly reduced; and the adventurers being reinforced by another body of men to the amount of an hundred and fifty under the command of Maurice Fitzgerald, composed an army that struck the barbarous inhabitants with awe. Roderic, the chief monarch of the island, ventured to oppose them, but he was defeated; and soon after the prince of Ossory was obliged to submit and give hostages for his future conduct.

Dermot being thus reinstated in his hereditary dominions, soon began to conceive hopes of extending the limits of his power, and making himself master of Ireland. With these views he endeavoured to expedite Strongbow: who, being personally prohibited by the king, was not yet come over. Dermot tried to inflame his ambition by the glory of the conquest, and his avarice by the advantages it would procure. He expatiated on the cowardice of the natives, and the certainty of his success. Strongbow first sent over Raymond, one of his retinue, with ten knights and seventy archers; and receiving permission shortly after for himself, he landed with two hundred horse, and a hundred archers. All these English forces now joined together, he became irresistible; and though the whole number did not amount to a thousand, yet such was the barbarous state of the natives, that they were every where put to the rout. The city of Waterford quickly surrendered; Dublin was taken by assault; and Strongbow soon after marrying Eva, according to treaty,



became master of the kingdom of Leinster upon Dermot's decease.

The island being thus in a manner wholly subdued, for nothing was capable of opposing the further progress of the English arms, Henry became willing to share in person those honours which the adventurers had already secured. He therefore, shortly after, landed in Ireland, at the head of five hundred knights and some soldiers; not so much to conquer a disputed territory, as to take possession of a subjected kingdom. Thus, after a trifling effort, in which very little money was expended, and little blood shed, that beautiful island became an appendage to the English crown, and as such it has ever since continued.

The joy which this conquest diffused was very great; but troubles of a domestic nature served to render the remaining part of Henry's life a scene of turbulence and disquietude. Among the few vices ascribed to this monarch, unlimited gallantry was one. Queen Eleanor, whom he had married from motives of ambition, and who had been divorced from her former royal consort for her incontinence, was long become disagreeable to Henry; and he sought in others those satisfactions he could not find with her. Among the number of his mistresses, Rosamond Clifford, better known by the name of Fair Rosamond, was the most remarkable. She is said to have been the most beautiful woman that was ever seen in England, and that Henry loved her with a long and faithful attachment.

In order to secure her from the resentment of his queen, who from having been formerly incontinent



herself, now became jealous of his incontinence, he concealed her in a labyrinth in Woodstock park. But their intercourse was not so closely concealed but that it came to the queen's knowledge, who, guided by a clew of silk to her fair rival's retreat, obliged her, by holding a drawn dagger to her breast, to swallow poison. Whatever may be the veracity of this story, certain it is, that this haughty woman first sowed the seeds of dissention between the king and his children.

Young Henry, the king's eldest son, was taught to believe himself injured, when, upon being crowned as partner in the kingdom, he was not admitted into a share of the administration. His discontents were shared by his brothers Geoffry and Richard, whom the queen persuaded to assert their title to the territories assigned them. Queen Eleanor herself was meditating an escape to the court of France, whither her sons had retired, when she was seized by the king's order, and put into confinement. Thus Henry saw all his long perspective of future happiness totally clouded; his sons scarce yet arrived in manhood, eager to share the spoils of their father's possessions: his queen warmly encouraging those undutiful princes in their rebellion, and many potentates of Europe not ashamed to lend them assistance to support their pretensions.

Henry, therefore, knowing the influence of superstition over the minds of the people, and perhaps, apprehensive that a part of his troubles arose from the displeasure of heaven, resolved to do penance at the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, for that was the name given to Becket upon his canonization. As soon as he came within sight of the church of Can-



terbury, alighting from his horse, he walked barefoot towards the town, and prostrated himself before the shrine of the saint. Next day he received absolution : and, departing for London, was acquainted with the agreeable news of a victory over the Scots, obtained on the very day of his absolution.

From that time his affairs began to wear a better aspect; the barons, who had revolted, made instant submission, and England, in a few weeks, was restored to perfect tranquillity. Young Henry, who was ready to embark with a large army, finding disturbances quieted at home, abandoned all thoughts of the expedition, and died soon after, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, of a fever, at Martel, not without the deepest remorse for his undutiful conduct towards his father. Richard was now heir in his room; and soon discovered the same ardent ambition that had misled his elder brother.

A crusade having been once more projected, Richard, who could not bear to have even his father a partner in his victories, entered into a confederacy with the king of France, who promised to confirm him in those wishes, at which he so ardently aspired. By this, Henry found himself obliged to give up all hopes of taking the cross, and compelled to enter upon a war with France and his eldest son. At last, however, a treaty was concluded, in which he was obliged to submit to many mortifying concessions. But still more so, when, upon demanding a list of the barons whom it was stipulated he should pardon, he found his son John, his favourite child, among the number. He had long borne an infirm state of body with calm resignation;



he had seen his children rebel without much emotion ; but when he saw that child, whose interest always lay next to his heart, among the number of those who were in rebellion against him, he could no longer contain his indignation. He broke out into expressions of the utmost despair ; cursed the day in which he had received his miserable being ; and bestowed on his ungrateful children a malediction which he never after could be prevailed upon to retract. The more his heart was disposed for friendship and affection, the more he resented this barbarous return ; and now, not having one corner in his heart where he could look for comfort, or fly for refuge from his conflicting passions, he lost all his former vivacity. A lingering fever, caused by a broken heart, soon after terminated his life and his miseries. He died at the castle of Chinon, near Saumur, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign ; in the course of which he displayed all the abilities of a politician, all the sagacity of a legislator, and all the magnanimity of a hero.

## CHAPTER IX.

RICHARD I. SURNAMED CŒUR DE LION.

A. D. 1189-1199.

**R**ICHARD, upon his accession to the throne, was still inflamed with the desire of going upon the crusade, and having got together a sufficient supply for his undertaking ; having even sold his superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, which had been acquired in the last reign, for a moderate sum, he set



out for the Holy Land, whither he was impelled by repeated messages from the king of France, who was ready to embark in the same enterprise.

The first place of rendezvous for the two armies of England and France was the plain of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy, where when Richard and Philip arrived, they found their armies amounting to an hundred thousand fighting men. Here the French prince and the English entered into the most solemn engagement of mutual support, but having determined to conduct their armies to the Holy Land by sea, they were obliged by stress of weather, to take shelter in Messina, the capital of Sicily, where they were detained during the whole winter. Richard took up his quarters in the suburbs, and possessed himself of a small fort, which commanded the harbour. Philip quartered his troops in the town, and lived upon good terms with the Sicilian king. Many were the mistrusts and the mutual reconciliations between these two monarchs, which were very probably inflamed by the Sicilian king's endeavours. At length, however, having settled all controversies, they set sail for the Holy Land, where the French arrived long before the English.

Upon the arrival of the English army in Palestine, however, the French and English princes seemed to forget their secret jealousies, and to act in concert. But shortly after, Philip, from the bad state of his health, returned to France, leaving Richard ten thousand of his troops under the command of the duke of Burgundy. Richard now went on from victory to victory. The christian adventurers under his command determined to besiege the renowned city of Ascalon, in order to prepare the way for attacking



attacking Jerusalem with the greater advantage. Saladin, the most heroic of all the Saracen monarchs, was resolved to dispute their march, and placed himself upon the road with an army of three hundred thousand men. This was a day equal to Richard's wishes, this an enemy worthy his highest ambition. The English crusaders were victorious. Richard, when the wings of his army were defeated, led on the main body in person and restored the battle. The Saracens fled in the utmost confusion: and no less than forty thousand of their number perished on the field of battle. Ascalon soon surrendered after this victory; other cities of less note followed the example, and Richard was at last able to advance within sight of Jerusalem, but just at this glorious juncture, upon reviewing his forces, and considering his abilities to prosecute the siege, he found that his army was so wasted with famine, fatigue, and even victory, that they were neither able nor willing to second the views of their commander. It appeared, therefore, absolutely necessary to come to an accommodation with Saladin; and a truce for three years was accordingly concluded; in which it was agreed, that the sea-port towns of Palestine should remain in the hands of the Christians; and that all of that religion should be permitted to make their pilgrimage to Jerusalem in perfect security.

Having thus concluded this expedition with more glory than advantage, Richard began to think of returning home: but being obliged to take the road through Germany, in the habit of a pilgrim, he was arrested by Leopold duke of Austria, who commanded him to be imprisoned, and loaded with



shackles. The emperor soon after required the prisoner to be delivered up to him, and stipulated a large sum of money to the duke, as a reward for this service. Thus the king of England, who had long filled the world with his fame, was basely thrown into a dungeon, and loaded with irons, by those who expected to reap a sordid advantage from his misfortunes. It was a long time before his subjects in England knew what was become of their beloved monarch. So little intercourse was there between different nations of that time, that this discovery is said by some to have been made by a poor French minstrel, who playing upon his harp near the fortress in which Richard was confined, a tune which he knew that unhappy monarch was fond of, he was answered by the king from within, who with his harp played the same tune; and thus discovered the place of his confinement.

However the English, at length, prevailed upon this barbarous monarch, who now saw that he could no longer detain his prisoner, to listen to terms of accommodation. A ransom was agreed upon, which amounted to an hundred and fifty thousand marks, or about three hundred thousand pounds of our money; upon the payment of which Richard was once more restored to his expecting subjects.

Nothing could exceed the joy of the English upon seeing their monarch return, after all his achievements and sufferings. He made his entry into London in triumph, and such was the profusion of wealth shewn by the citizens, that the German lords, who attended him, were heard to say, that if the emperor had known of their affluence he would not so easily have parted with their king. He soon after



ordered himself to be crowned a-new at Winchester. He convoked a general council at Nottingham, at which he confiscated all his brother John's possessions, who had basely endeavoured to prolong his captivity, and gone over to the king of France with that intent. However, he pardoned him soon after, with this generous remark, « I wish I could as easily forget my brother's offence, as he will my pardon. »

Richard's death was occasioned by a singular accident : a vassal of the crown had taken possession of a treasure, which was found by one of his peasants in digging a field in France; and to secure the remainder, he sent a part of it to the king. Richard, as superior lord, sensible that he had a right to the whole, insisted on its being sent him; and, upon refusal, attacked the castle of Chalus, where he understood this treasure had been deposited. On the fourth day of the siege, he was riding round the place to observe where the assault might be given with the fairest probability of success, he was aimed at by one Betram de Gourdon, an archer, from the castle, and pierced in the shoulder with an arrow. The wound was not in itself dangerous; but an unskilful surgeon, endeavouring to disengage the arrow from the flesh, so rankled the wound that it mortified, and brought on fatal symptoms. Richard, when he found his end approaching, made a will, in which he bequeathed the kingdom, with all his treasure, to his brother John, except a fourth part, which he distributed among his servants. He ordered also, that the archer who had shot him, should be brought into his presence, and demanded what injury he had done him that he should take away his



life? The prisoner answered with deliberate intrepidity: « You killed, with your own hands, my father, and my two brothers, and you intended to have hanged me. I am now in your power, and my torments may give you revenge; but I will endure them with pleasure, since it is my consolation, that I have rid the world of a tyrant. » Richard, struck with this answer, ordered the soldier to be presented with one hundred shillings, and set at liberty; but Marcadée, the general who commanded under him, like a true ruffian, ordered him to be flayed alive, and then hanged. Richard died in the tenth year of his reign, at the forty-second of his age, leaving only one natural son, called Philip, behind him.

## CHAPTER X.

JOHN.

A. D. 1199-1216.

**J**OHNSON was no sooner seated on the throne than he hastened to secure the provinces on the continent, which had revolted to young Arthur, his nephew, and rightful heir to the crown. His pride and cruelty were alike the detestation of his subjects; and the murder of prince Arthur in prison, by his own hands, served to render him completely odious in their eyes. They dreaded his character, but could not condemn his power. But it was the fate of this vicious prince to make those the enemies of himself whom he wanted abilities to make the enemies of each other. The clergy had for some time acted as a community independent of the crown, and had their elections of each other generally con-



firmed by the pope, to whom alone they acknowledged obedience. However, the election of archbishops had for some time been a continual subject of dispute between the suffragan bishops and the Augustine monks, and both had precedents to confirm their pretensions. John sided with the bishops, and sent two knights of his train, to expel the monks from their convent, and to take possession of their revenues. The pope was not displeased at these divisions, and instead of electing either of the persons appointed by the contending parties, he nominated Stephen Langton, as archbishop of Canterbury. John, however, refusing to admit the man of the pope's choosing, the kingdom was put under an interdict. This instrument of terror in the hands of the see of Rome, was calculated to strike the senses in the highest degree, and to operate upon the superstitious minds of the people. By it a stop was immediately put to divine service, and to the administration of all the sacraments but baptism. The church doors were shut, the statues of the saints were laid on the ground; the dead were refused Christian burial, and were thrown into ditches and on the highways, without the usual rites or any funeral solemnity.

No situation could be more deplorable than that of John. Furious at these indignities, jealous of his subjects, and apprehending an enemy in every face, it is said, that he shut himself up a whole night in the castle of Nottingham, and suffered none to approach his person. But what was his consternation, when he found that the pope had actually given away his kingdom to the monarch of France, and that the prince of that country was preparing



an army to take possession of his crown. He was, however, still able to make an expiring effort to receive the enemy. All hated as he was, the natural enmity between the French and the English, the name of king, which he still retained, and some remaining power, put him at the head of sixty-thousand men, a sufficient number, indeed, but not to be relied on, and with these he advanced to Dover. Europe now regarded the important preparations on both sides with impatience, and the decisive blow was soon expected, in which the church was to triumph, or to be overthrown. But neither Philip nor John had ability equal to the pontiff, by whom they were actuated; he appeared, on this occasion, too refined a politician for either. He only intended to make use of Philip's power to intimidate his refractory son, not to destroy him. He intimated, therefore, to John, by his legate, that there was but one way to secure himself from impending danger: which was to put himself under the pope's protection, and accordingly he took an oath to perform whatever stipulations the pope should impose. Having thus sworn to the performance of an unknown command, the artful Italian so well managed the barons, and so effectually intimidated the king, that he persuaded him to take the most extraordinary oath in all the records of history, before all the people, upon his knees, and with his hands held up between those of the legate.

« I John, by the grace of God, king of England,  
» and lord of Ireland, in order to expiate my sins,  
» from my own free will, and the advice of my  
» barons, give to the church of Rome, to pope  
» Innocent, and his successors, the kingdom of



» England, and all other prerogatives of my crown.  
» I will hereafter hold them as the pope's vassal.  
» I will be faithful to God, to the church of Rome,  
» to the pope my master, and his successors legiti-  
» mately elected. I promise to pay him a tribute of  
» a thousand marks yearly; to wit, seven hundred  
» for the kingdom of Ireland. » Having thus done  
homage to the legate, and agreed to reinstate Lang-  
ton in the primacy, he received the crown, which  
he had been supposed to have forfeited, while the  
legate trampled under his feet the tribute which  
John had consented to pay. Thus, by this most scan-  
dalous concession, John once more averted the  
threatened blow; but, by repeated acts of cruelty,  
and by expeditions without effect, he was become  
the detestation of all mankind.

The barons had been long forming a confederacy  
against him; but their aims were disappointed, by  
various accidents. At length, however, they assem-  
bled a large body of men at Stamford, and from  
thence, elated with their power, they marched to  
Brackley, about fifteen miles from Oxford, the  
place where the court then resided. John, hearing  
of their approach, sent the archbishop of Canter-  
bury, the earl of Pembroke, and others of his  
council, to know what those liberties were which  
they so earnestly importuned him to grant. The  
barons delivered a schedule, containing the chief  
articles of their demands, and of which the former  
charters of Henry and Edward formed the ground-  
work. No sooner were these shewn to the king  
than he burst into a furious passion, and asked  
why the barons did not also demand his kingdom?  
swearing that he would never comply with such



exorbitant demands. But the confederacy was now too strong to fear much from the consequences of his resentment. They chose Robert Fitzwalter for their general, whom they dignified with the title of « Mareschal of the army of God, and of the holy church; » and proceeding to make war upon the king, they besieged Northampton, took Bedford, and were joyfully received in London. They wrote circular letters to all the nobility and gentlemen who had not yet declared in their favour, and menaced their estates with devastation, in case of refusal or delay.

John, struck with terror, first offered to refer all differences to the pope alone, or to eight barons, four to be chosen by himself, and four by the confederates. This the barons scornfully rejected. He then assured them, that he would submit at discretion; and that it was his supreme pleasure to grant all their demands : a conference was accordingly appointed, and all things adjusted for this most important treaty. The ground where the king's commissioners met the barons was between Staines and Windsor, at a place called Runimede, still held in reverence by posterity, as the spot where the standard of freedom was first erected in England. There the barons appeared with a vast number of knights and warriors, on the 15th day of June, 1215, while those on the king's part came a day or two after. Both sides encamped apart like open enemies. The barons, determined on carrying their aims, would admit of few abatements; and the king's agents being for the most part in their interests, few debates ensued. After some days, the king, with a facility that was somewhat sus-



picious, signed and sealed the charter required of him; a charter which continues in force to this day, and is that famous bulwark of English liberty, which goes by the name of MAGNA CHARTA. This famous deed either granted or secured freedom to those orders of the kingdom that were already possessed of freedom, namely, to the clergy, the barons, and the gentlemen; as for the inferior, and the greatest part of the people, they were as yet held as slaves, and it was long before they could come to a participation of legal protection.

John, however, took the first opportunity of denying to be in the least governed by this charter. This produced a second civil war, in which the barons were obliged to have recourse to the king of France for assistance. Thus England saw nothing but a prospect of being every way undone. If John succeeded, a tyrannical and implacable monarch was to be their tormentor: if the French king should prevail, the country was ever after to submit to a more powerful monarchy, and was to become a province of France. What neither human prudence could foresee, nor policy suggest, was brought about by a happy and unexpected event.

John had assembled a considerable army, with a view to make one great effort for the crown; and at the head of a large body of troops, resolved to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. With these resolutions he departed from Lynn, which, for its fidelity, he had distinguished with many marks of favour, and directed his route towards Lincolnshire. His road lay along the shore, which was overflowed at high water; but not being



apprised of this, or being ignorant of the tide of the place, he lost all his carriages, treasure, and baggage, by its influx. He himself escaped with the greatest difficulty, and arrived at the abbey of Swinstead, where his grief for the loss he had sustained, and the distracted state of his affairs, threw him into a fever, which soon appeared to be fatal. Next day, being unable to ride on horseback, he was carried on a litter to the castle of Seeford, and from thence removed to Newark, where, after having made his will, he died in the fifty-first year of his age, and the eighteenth of his detested reign.

## CHAPTER XI.

HENRY III.

A. D. 1216-1272.

A CLAIM was, upon the death of John, made in favour of young Henry, the son of the late king, who was now but nine years of age. The earl of Pembroke, a nobleman of great worth and valour, who had faithfully adhered to John in all the fluctuations of his fortune, had him solemnly crowned by the bishops of Winchester and Bath, at Gloucester. The young king was of a character the very opposite to his father: as he grew up to man's estate, he was found to be gentle, merciful, and humane; he appeared easy and good natured to his dependents; but no way formidable to his enemies. Without activity or vigour he was unfit



to conduct in war; without distrust or suspicion he was imposed upon in times of peace.

As weak princes are never without governing favourites, he first placed his affections on Hubert de Burgh, and he becoming obnoxious to the people, the place was soon supplied by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, a Poictevin by birth, a man remarkable for arbitrary conduct, courage, and abilities. Henry, in pursuance of this prelate's advice, invited over a great number of Poictevins, and other foreigners, who were willing to adopt whatever schemes their employer should propose. Every office and command was bestowed on these unprincipled strangers, whose avarice and rapacity were exceeded only by their pride and insolence. So unjust a partiality excited the jealousy of the barons; and they assured the king, that if he did not dismiss all foreigners from court, they would drive both him and them out of the kingdom; but their anger was scarce kept within bounds when they saw a new swarm of these intruders come over from Gascony, with Isabella, the king's mother, who had been some time before married to the Count de la Marche. To these just causes of complaint were added the king's unsuccessful expeditions to the continent, his total want of economy, and his oppressive exactions, which were but the result of the former. At last Simon Montford, earl of Leicester, attempted an innovation in the government, to wrest the sceptre from the feeble hand who held it. This nobleman was son of the famous general who commanded against the Albigenses, who had revolted from the Romish religion, and had been destroyed some time before in the king-



dom of Savoy. He was married to the king's sister; and, by his power and address, was possessed of a strong interest in the nation.

The first place where the formidable confederacy which he formed discovered itself, was in the parliament-house, where the barons appeared in complete armour. The king, upon his entry, asked them what was their intention? To which they submissively replied, to make him their sovereign, by confirming his power, and to have their grievances redressed. Henry, who was ready enough to promise whatever was demanded, instantly assured them of his intentions to give all possible satisfaction; and, for that purpose, summoned a parliament at Oxford, to digest a new plan of government, and to elect proper persons, who were to be entrusted with the chief authority. This parliament, afterwards called the MAD PARLIAMENT, went expeditiously to work upon the business of reformation. Twenty-four barons were appointed, with supreme authority, to reform the abuses of the state, and Leicester was placed at their head. The whole state in their hands underwent a complete alteration; all Henry's officers were displaced, and creatures of the twenty-four barons were put in their room. They not only abridged the authority of the king, but the efficacy of parliament, giving up to twelve persons all parliamentary power between each session.

The first opposition that was made to these usurpations, was from a power which but lately began to take place in the constitution. The knights of the shire, who, for some time had begun to be regularly assembled in a separate house, represented,  
that



that their own interests and power seemed the only aim of all their decrees; and they even called upon the king's eldest son, prince Edward, to interpose his authority, and save the sinking nation.

Prince Edward was at this time about twenty-two years of age. The hopes which were conceived of his abilities and integrity, rendered him an important personage in the transactions of the times, and, in some measure, atoned for his father's imbecility. He had, at a very early age, given the strongest proofs of courage, of wisdom, and of constancy. At first, indeed, when applied to, he refused to listen to the people's earnest application; but being at last persuaded to concur, a parliament was called, in which the king resumed his former authority. From this a civil war ensued, in which, in a pitched battle, the earl of Leicester became victorious, and the king was taken prisoner, but soon after exchanged for prince Edward, who was to remain as a hostage to insure the punctual observance of the former agreement.

With all these advantages, however, Leicester still feared the combinations of the foreign states against him, as well as the internal machinations of the royal party, and was obliged to have recourse to an aid till now entirely unknown in England, namely, that of the body of the people. He called a parliament, where, besides the barons of his own party, and several ecclesiastics, who were not immediate tenants of the crown, he ordered returns to be made of two knights from every shire; and also deputies from the boroughs which had hitherto been considered as too inconsiderable to have a voice in legislation. This is the first



confirmed outline of an English house of commons.

In this parliament, however, many of the barons, who had hitherto stedfastly adhered to his party, appeared disgusted at his immoderate ambition; and many of the people, who found that a change of masters was not a change for happiness, began to wish for the re-establishment of the royal family. Leicester finding himself unable to oppose the concurring wishes of the nation, resolved to make a merit of what he could not prevent; and he accordingly released prince Edward from confinement, and had him introduced to Westminster hall, where his freedom was confirmed by the unanimous voice of the barons. But though Leicester had all the popularity of restoring the prince, yet he was politic enough to keep him still guarded by his emissaries, who watched all his motions, and frustrated all his aims.

Wherefore the prince, upon hearing that the duke of Gloucester was up in arms in his cause, took an opportunity to escape from his guards, and put himself at the head of his party. A battle soon after ensued; and the earl's army having been exhausted by famine on the mountains of Wales, was but ill able to sustain the impetuosity of young Edward's attack, who bore down upon it with incredible fury. During this terrible day, Leicester behaved with astonishing intrepidity, and kept up the spirit of the action, from two o'clock in the afternoon till nine at night. At last, his horse being killed under him, he was compelled to fight on foot; and though he demanded quarter, the adverse party refused it, with a barbarity common enough



in the times we are describing. The old king, who was placed in front of the battle, was soon wounded in the shoulder; and not being known by his friends, he was on the point of being killed by a soldier; but crying out, «I am Henry, of Winchester, the king,» he was saved by a knight of the royal army. Prince Edward hearing the voice of his father, instantly ran to the spot where he lay, and had him conducted to a place of safety. The body of Leicester being found among the dead, was barbarously mangled by Roger Mortimer; and then, with an accumulation of inhumanity, sent to the wretched widow, as a testimony of the royal party's success.

The victory proved decisive; and the prince having thus restored peace to the kingdom, found his affairs so firmly established, that he resolved upon taking the cross, which was, at that time, the highest object of human ambition. In pursuance of this resolution, Edward sailed from England with a large army, and arrived at the camp of Lewis, the king of France, which lay before Tunis: and where he had the misfortune to hear of that good monarch's death before his arrival. The prince, however, continued his voyage, and arrived at the Holy Land in safety, but was scarce departed, when the health of the old king began to decline; and he found not only his own constitution, but also that of the state, in such a dangerous situation, that he wrote letters to his son, pressing him to return with all dispatch. At last, being overcome by the cares of government, and the infirmities of age, he ordered himself to be removed, by easy journies, from St. Edmund's to Westminster, where, on the night



of his arrival, he expired, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-sixth of his reign, the longest to be met with in the annals of England.

## CHAPTER XII.

EDWARD I.

A. D. 1272-1307.

**W**HILE the unfortunate Henry was thus vainly struggling with the ungovernable spirit of his subjects, his son and successor, Edward, was employed in the Holy wars, where he revived the glory of the English name, and made the enemies of Christianity tremble. He was stabbed, however, by one of those Mahometan enthusiasts, called Assassins, as he was one day sitting in his tent, and was cured not without great difficulty. Some say that he owed his safety to the piety of Eleonora, his wife, who sucked the poison from the wound to save his life, at the hazard of her own.

As Edward was now come to an undisputed throne, the opposite interests were proportionably feeble. The barons were exhausted by long mutual dissensions; the clergy were divided in their interests, and agreed only in one point, to hate the pope, who had for some time drained them with impunity: the people, by some insurrections against the convents, appeared to hate the clergy with equal animosity. But these disagreeing orders concurred in one point, that of esteeming and reverencing the king, who, therefore, thought this the most fa-



vourable conjuncture of uniting England with Wales. The Welch had , for many ages , enjoyed their own laws , language , customs , and opinions. They were the remains of the ancient Britons , who had escaped the Roman and Saxon invasions , and still preserved their freedom and their country , uncontaminated by the admission of foreign conquerors. But as they were , from their number , incapable of withstanding their more powerful neighbours on the plain , their chief defence lay in their inaccessible mountains , those natural bulwarks of the country. Whenever England was distressed by factions at home , or its forces called off to wars abroad , the Welch made it a constant practice to pour in their irregular troops , and lay the open country waste wherever they came. Nothing could be more pernicious to a country than several neighbouring independent principalities , under different commanders , and pursuing different interests. Sensible of this , Edward had long wished to reduce that incursive people , and had ordered Lewellyn to do homage for his territories : which summons the Welch prince refused to obey , unless the king's own son should be delivered as an hostage for his safe return. The king was not displeased at this refusal , as it served to give him a pretext for his intended invasion. He , therefore , levied an army against Lewellyn , and marched into his country with certain assurances of success.

Upon the approach of Edward , the Welch prince took refuge amongst the inaccessible mountains of Snowdon , and there resolved to maintain his ground without trusting to the chance of a battle. These were the steep retreats that had , for many ages



and he carefully destroyed all records and monuments of antiquity, that inspired the Scotch with a spirit of national pride.

These expeditions, however, terminated rather in glory than advantage: the expences of the war were not only burthensome to the king, but even, in the event, threatened to shake him on his throne. At first he raised considerable supplies by means of his parliament: and that august body was then modelled by him into the form in which it continues to this day. As a great part of the property of the kingdom was, by the introduction of commerce, and the improvement of agriculture, transferred from the barons to the lower classes of the people, their consent was thought necessary for the raising any considerable supplies. For this reason, he issued writs to the sheriffs enjoining them to send to parliament, along with two knights of the shire, (as in the former reign,) two deputies from each borough within their county. One of the first efforts, therefore, was, to oblige the king's council to sign the Magna Charta, and to add a clause to secure the nation for ever against all impositions and taxes, without the consent of parliament. The king's council (for Edward was at that time in Flanders,) readily agreed to sign this; and the king himself, when it was sent over to him, after some hesitation, thought proper to do the same. These concessions he again confirmed upon his return; and was at last brought to give a plenary consent to all the articles that were demanded of him. Thus, after the contest of an age, the Magna Charta was finally established: nor was it the least circumstance in its favour, that its confirmation was procured from



one of the greatest and boldest princes that ever swayed the English sceptre.

In the mean time, William Wallace, so celebrated in Scottish story, attempted to rescue Scotland from the English yoke. He was the youngest son of a gentleman, who lived in the western part of that kingdom. He was a man of gigantic stature, incredible strength, and amazing intrepidity; eagerly desirous of independence, and possessed of the most disinterested spirit of patriotism. To this man had resorted all those who were obnoxious to the English government; the proud, the bold, the criminal, and the ambitious, who, bred among dangers and hardships themselves, could not forbear admiring in their leader, a degree of patience, under fatigue and famine, which they supposed beyond the power of human nature to endure: he soon therefore became the principal object of their affection and their esteem. His first exploits were confined to petty ravages, and occasional attacks upon the English; but he soon overthrew the English armies, and slew their generals.

Edward, who had been over in Flanders while these misfortunes happened in England, hastened back with impatience to restore his authority, and secure his former conquests. He quickly levied the whole force of his dominions, and at the head of an hundred thousand men, directed his march to the North, fully resolved to take vengeance upon the Scots for their late defection. A battle was fought at Falkirk, in which Edward gained a complete victory, leaving twelve thousand of the Scotch (or, as some will have it, fifty thousand) dead upon the field, while the English had not a hundred slain.



The Scotch, after a short interval, began to breathe from their calamities. Wallace, who had gained all their regards by his valour, shewed that he still merited them more by his declining the rewards of ambition. Perceiving how much he was envied by the nobility, and knowing how prejudicial that envy would prove to the interests of his country, he resigned the regency of the kingdom, and humbled himself to a private station. He proposed Cummin as the properest person to supply his room; and that nobleman endeavoured to shew himself worthy of this pre-eminence. He soon began to annoy the enemy; and, not content with a defensive war, made incursions into the southern counties of the kingdom, which Edward had imagined wholly subdued. They attacked an army of the English lying at Roslin near Edinburgh, and gained a complete victory.

But it was not easy for any circumstances of bad fortune to repress the enterprising spirit of the king. He assembled a great fleet and army; and, entering the frontiers of Scotland, appeared with a force which the enemy could not think of resisting in the open field. Assured of success, he marched along, and traversed the kingdom from one end to the other, ravaging the open country, taking all the castles, and receiving the submission of all the nobles. There seemed to remain only one obstacle to the final destruction of the Scottish monarchy, and that was William Wallace, who still continued refractory; and wandering with a few forces from mountain to mountain, preserved his native independence and usual good fortune. But even their feeble hopes from him were soon



disappointed ; he was betrayed into the king's hands by Sir John Monteith, his friend, and the king, willing to strike the Scotch with the example of severity, ordered him to be conducted in chains to London, where he was hanged, drawn, and quartered with the most brutal ferocity.

Robert Bruce, who had been one of the competitors for the crown, but was long kept a prisoner in London, at length escaping from his guards, resolved to strike for his country's freedom. Having murdered one of the king's servants, he left himself no resource, but to confirm by desperate valour what he had begun in cruelty ; and he soon expelled such of the English forces as had fixed themselves in the kingdom. Soon after he was solemnly crowned king by the bishop of St. Andrew's, in the abbey of Scone ; and numbers flocked to his standard, resolving to confirm his pretensions. Thus, after twice conquering the kingdom ; and as often pardoning the delinquents ; the old king saw that nothing but the final destruction of the inhabitants could give him assurance of tranquillity. He vowed revenge against the whole nation ; and averred, that nothing but reducing them to the completest bondage could satisfy his resentment. He summoned his prelates, nobility, and all who held by knight's service, to meet him at Carlisle, which was appointed as the general rendezvous ; and, in the mean time, he detached a body of forces before him into Scotland, under the command of Aymer de Valance, who began the threatened infliction by a complete victory over Bruce, near Methuen, in Perthshire. Immediately after this dreadful blow, the resentful king appeared himself in



person, entering Scotland with his army divided into two parts, and expecting to find, in the opposition of the people, a pretext for punishing them. But his anger was disappointed in their humiliations; and he was ashamed to extirpate those who only opposed patience to his indignation. His death put an end to the apprehensions of the Scotch, and effectually rescued their country from total subjection. He sickened, and died at Carlisle, of a dysentery: enjoining his son, with his last breath, never to desist, till he had finally subdued the kingdom. He expired July 7, 1307, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign; after having added more to the solid interests of the kingdom than any of those who went before, or succeeded him.

## CHAPTER XIII.

EDWARD II. SURNAMED CAERNARVON.

A. D. 1307-1327.

**E**DWARD was in the twenty-third year of his age when he succeeded his father, of an agreeable figure, of a mild, harmless disposition, and apparently addicted to few vices. But he soon gave symptoms of his unfitness to succeed so great a monarch as his father; he was rather fond of the enjoyment of his power, than of securing it; and lulled by the flattery of his courtiers, he thought he had done enough for glory, when he had accepted the crown. Instead, therefore, of prose-



entering the war against Scotland, according to the injunctions he had received from his dying father, he took no steps to check the progress of Bruce; his march into that country being rather a procession of pageantry than a warlike expedition.

Weak monarchs are ever governed by favourites, and the first Edward placed his affections upon, was Piers Gaveston, the son of a Gascon knight, who had been employed in the service of the late king. This young man was beautiful, witty, brave, and active; but then he was vicious, effeminate, debauched, and trifling. These were qualities entirely adapted to the taste of the young monarch, and he seemed to think no rewards equal to his deserts. Gaveston, on the other hand, intoxicated with his power, became haughty and overbearing, and treated the English nobility with scorn and derision. A conspiracy, therefore, was soon formed against him, at the head of which queen Isabel, and the earl of Lancaster, a nobleman of great power, were associated.

It was easy to perceive, that a combination of the nobles, while the queen secretly assisted their designs, would be too powerful against the efforts of a weak king, and a vain favourite. The king, timid and wavering, banished him at their solicitation, and recalled him soon after. On this all the Barons flew to arms, with the earl A. D. of Lancaster at their head. The unhappy 1312. Edward sought only for safety; and in the company of his favourite, embarked at Tinmouth, and sailed to Scarborough, where he left Gaveston, as in a place of safety; and then went back to York himself, either to raise an army



to oppose his enemies, or, by his presence, to allay their animosity. In the mean time Gaveston was besieged in Scarborough by the earl of Pembroke; and, sensible of the bad condition of the garrison, took the earliest opportunity to offer terms of capitulation. He stipulated, that he should remain in Pembroke's hands a prisoner for two months; and that endeavours should be used, in the mean-time, for a general accommodation. But Pembroke had no intention that he should escape so easily; he ordered him to be conducted to the castle of Deddington, near Banbury, where, on pretence of other business, he left him with a feeble guard, which the earl of Warwick having notice of, he attacked the castle in which the unfortunate Gaveston was confined, and quickly made himself master of his person. The earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel, were soon apprized of Warwick's success, and informed, that their common enemy was now in custody in Warwick castle, and hastened to hold a consultation upon the fate of their prisoner. This was of no long continuance; they unanimously resolved to put him to death, as an enemy to the kingdom, and instantly had him conveyed to a place called Blacklow-hill, where he was beheaded.

To add to Edward's misfortunes, he soon after suffered a most signal defeat from the Scotch army under Bruce, near Bannockburn, and this drove him once more to seek relief in some favourite's company. The name of this new favourite was Hugh de Spenser, a young man of a noble English family, of some merit, and very engaging accomplishments. His father was a person of much more estimable character than the son; he was venerable



for his years, and respected through life for his wisdom, his valour, and his integrity. But these excellent qualities were all diminished and vilified from the moment he and his son began to share the king's favour, who even dispossessed some lords unjustly of their estates, in order to accumulate them upon his favourite. This was a pretext the king's enemies had been long seeking for; the earls of Lancaster and Hereford flew to arms; sentence was procured from parliament of perpetual exile against the two Spencers, and a forfeiture of their fortune and estates. The king, however, at last rousing from his lethargy, took the field in the defence of his beloved Spenser, and at the head of thirty thousand men pressed the earl of Lancaster so closely, that he had not time to collect his forces together; and flying from one place to another, he was at last stopt in his way towards Scotland by Sir Andrew Harcla, and made prisoner. As he had formerly shewn little mercy to Gaveston, there was very little extended to him upon this occasion. He was condemned by a court-martial; and led, mounted on a lean horse, to an eminence near Pomfret, in circumstances of the greatest indignity, where he was beheaded.

A rebellion, thus crushed, served only to increase the pride and rapacity of young Spenser: most of the forfeitures were seized for his use; and in his promptitude to punish the delinquents, he was found guilty of many acts of rapine and injustice. But he was now to oppose queen Isabella, a cruel, haughty woman, who fled over to France, and refused to appear in England till Spenser was removed from the royal presence, and banished the kingdom. By



this she became popular in England, where Spenser was universally disliked; and she had the pleasure of enjoying the company of a young nobleman, whose name was Mortimer, upon whom she had lately placed her affections. The queen's court now, therefore, became a sanctuary for all malcontents; and, soon after, accompanied by three thousand men at arms, she set out from Dort harbour, and landed without opposition on the coast of Suffolk. She no sooner appeared than there seemed a general revolt in her favour; and the unfortunate king found the spirit of disloyalty was not confined to the capital alone, but diffused over the whole kingdom. He had placed some dependence upon the garrison which was stationed in the castle of Bristol, under the command of the elder Spenser; but they mutinied against their governor, and that unfortunate favourite was delivered up, and condemned by the tumultuous barons to the most ignominious death. He was hanged on a gibbet in his armour, his body was cut in pieces, and thrown to the dogs, and his head was sent to Winchester, where it was set upon a pole, and exposed to the insults of the populace.

Young Spenser, the unhappy son, did not long survive the father; he was taken with some others who had followed the fortunes of the wretched king, in an obscure convent in Wales, and the merciless victors resolved to glut their revenge, in adding insult to cruelty. The queen had not patience to wait the formality of a trial; but ordered him immediately to be led forth before the insulting populace, and seemed to take a savage pleasure in feasting her eyes with his distresses. The gibbet



erected for his execution was fifty feet high ; his head was sent to London , where the citizens received it in brutal triumph and fixed it on the bridge. Several other lords also shared his fate ; all deserving pity indeed, had they not themselves formerly justified the present inhumanity by setting a cruel example.

In the mean time the king , who hoped to find refuge in Wales , was quickly discovered , conducted to the capital amidst the insults and reproaches of the people , and confined in the Tower. A charge was soon after exhibited against him , in which his incapacity to govern , his indolence , his love of pleasure , and his being swayed by evil counsellors , were objected against him. His deposition was quickly voted by parliament : he was assigned a pension for his support , his son Edward , a youth of fourteen , was fixed upon to succeed him , and the queen was appointed regent during the minority.

The deposed monarch but a short time  
 A. D. survived his misfortunes ; he was sent from  
 1327. prison to prison , as a wretched outcast , and the sport of his inhuman keepers. He had been at first consigned to the custody of the earl of Lancaster ; but this nobleman shewing some marks of respect and pity , he was taken out of his hands , and delivered over to lords Berkeley , Montravers , and Gournay , who were entrusted with the charge of guarding him month about. Whatever his treatment from lord Berkeley might have been , the other two practised every kind of indignity upon him , as if their design had been to accelerate his death by the bitterness of his sufferings.



Among other acts of brutal oppression, it is said that they shaved him for sport in the open fields, using water from a neighbouring ditch. He is said to have born his former indignities with patience, but all fortitude forsook him upon this occasion; he looked upon his merciless insulters with an air of disdain, and bursting into tears, exclaimed, that the time might come, when he would be more decently attended. This, however, was but a vain expectation. As his persecutors saw that his death might not arrive, even under every cruelty, till a revolution had been made in his favour, they resolved to rid themselves of their fears, by destroying him at once. Accordingly, his two keepers, Gournay and Montravers, came to Berkeley castle, where Edward was then confined; and having concerted a method of putting him to death without any external violence, they threw him on a bed, holding him down by a table, which they had placed over him. They then ran a horn pipe up his body, through which they conveyed a red-hot iron, and thus burnt his bowels, without disfiguring his body. By this cruel artifice, they expected to have their crime concealed; but his horrid shrieks, which were heard at a distance from the castle, gave a suspicion of the murder; and the whole was soon after divulged by the confession of one of the accomplices. Misfortunes like his must ever create pity, and a punishment so disproportionate to the sufferer's guilt, must wipe away even many of those faults of which Edward was undoubtedly culpable.



## CHAPTER XIV.

EDWARD III.

A. D. 1327-1377.

**T**HE parliament, by which young Edward was raised to the throne during the life of his father, appointed twelve persons as his privy council. Mortimer, the queen's paramour, artfully excluded himself, under a pretended shew of moderation; but at the same time he secretly influenced all their measures. He caused the greatest of the royal revenues to be settled on the queen dowager, and he seldom took the trouble to consult the ministers of government in any public undertaking. The king himself was so besieged by the favourite's creatures, that no access could be procured to him, and the whole sovereign authority was shared between Mortimer and the queen.

At length, however, Edward was resolved to shake off an authority that was odious to the nation, and particularly restrictive upon him. But such was the power of the favourite, that it required as much precaution to overturn the usurper, as to establish the throne. The queen and Mortimer had for some time chosen the castle of Nottingham for the place of their residence, which was strictly guarded. It was, therefore, agreed between the king and some of his barons, who secretly entered into his designs, to seize upon them in the fortress; and for that purpose, Sir William Eland, the go-



vernor, was induced to admit them by a secret subterraneous passage, which had been formerly contrived for an outlet, but was now hidden with rubbish, and known only to one or two. It was by this, therefore, the noblemen in the king's interest entered the castle in the night; and Mortimer was seized in an apartment adjoining that of the queen's. It was in vain that she endeavoured to protect him: in vain she intreated them to spare her « gentle Mortimer; » the barons, deaf to her entreaties, denied her that pity which she had so often refused to others. Her paramour was condemned by the parliament, which was then sitting, without being permitted to make his defence, or even examining a witness against him. He was hanged on a gibbet at a place called Elmes, about a mile from London, where his body was left hanging for two days after. The queen, who was certainly the most culpable, was shielded by the dignity of her situation; she was only discarded from all share of power, and confined for life to the castle of Risings, with a pension of three thousand pounds a year. From this confinement she was never after set free; and though the king annually paid her a visit of decent ceremony, yet she found herself abandoned to universal contempt and detestation; and continued for above twenty-five years after, a miserable monument of blighted ambition.

In order still more to secure the people's affections, Edward made a successful irruption into Scotland, in which, in one battle fought at Hallidown-hill, above thirty thousand of the Scotch were slain. Soon after he turned his arms against France, which was at that time particularly unfortunate.



The three sons of Philip the Fair, in full parliament, accused their wives of adultery; and, in consequence of this accusation, they were condemned and imprisoned for life. — Lewis Hutin, successor to the crown of France, caused his wife to be strangled, and her lovers to be flayed alive. After his death, as he left only a daughter, his next brother, Philip the Tall, assumed the crown, in her prejudice; and vindicated his title by the Salic law, which ordered that no female should succeed to the crown. Edward, however, urged his pretensions, as being by his mother Isabella, who was daughter to Philip the Fair, and sister to the three last kings of France, rightful heir to the crown. But he first, in a formal manner, consulted his parliament, obtained their approbation, received a proper supply of wool, which he intended to barter with the Flemings; and being attended with a body of English forces, and several of his nobility, he sailed over into Flanders, big with his intended conquests. The first great advantage he gained, was in a naval engagement on the coast of Flanders, in which the French lost two hundred and thirty ships, and had thirty thousand of their seamen, and two of their admirals slain.

The intelligence of Edward's landing, and the devastation caused by his troops, who dispersed themselves over the country, soon spread universal consternation through the French court. Caen was taken and plundered by the English, without mercy; the villages and towns, even up to Paris, shared the same fate; and the French, by breaking down their bridges, could only attempt to stop the invader's career. Philip, the king of France, then sta-



tioned one of his generals, Godemar de Faye, with an army on the opposite side of the river Somme, over which Edward was to pass; while he himself, at the head of a hundred thousand fighting men, advanced to give the English battle.

As both armies had for some time been in sight of each other, nothing was so eagerly expected on each side as a battle; and although the forces were extremely disproportioned, the English amounting only to thirty thousand, the French to a hundred and twenty thousand, yet Edward resolved to indulge the impetuosity of his troops, and put all to the hazard of a battle. He accordingly chose his ground with advantage near the village of Crecy, and there determined to await with tranquillity the shock of the enemy. He drew up his men on a gentle ascent, and divided them into three lines. The first was commanded by the young prince of Wales; the second was conducted by the earls of Northampton and Arundel; and the third, which was kept as a body of reserve, was headed by the king in person.

On the other side Philip, impelled by resentment, and confident of his numbers, was more solicitous in bringing the enemy to an engagement than prudent in taking measures for its success. He led on his army in three bodies opposite to those of the English. The first line consisted of fifteen thousand Genoese cross-bowmen; the second body was led by the king of France's brother; and he himself was at the head of the third.

About three in the afternoon, the famous battle of Crecy began, by the French king's ordering the Genoese archers to charge; but they were so fatigued with their march, that they cried out for a little



rest before they should engage. The Count Alençon, being informed of their petition, rode up and reviled them as cowards, commanding them to begin the onset without delay. The reluctance to begin was still more increased by a heavy shower which fell that instant, and relaxed their bow-strings; so that the discharge they made produced but very little effect. On the other hand, the English archers, who had kept their bows in cases, and were favoured by a sudden gleam of sunshine, that rather dazzled the enemy, let fly their arrows so thick, and with such good aim, that nothing was to be seen among the Genoese but hurry, terror, and dismay. The young prince of Wales had presence of mind to take advantage of their confusion, and to lead on his line to the charge. The French cavalry, however, commanded by the Count Alençon, wheeling round; sustained the combat, and began to hem the English in. The earls of Arundel and Northampton now came to assist the prince, who appeared foremost in the very shock, and, wherever he appeared, turned the fortune of the day. The thickest of the battle was now gathered round him, and the valour of a boy filled even veterans with astonishment; but their surprise at his courage could not give way to their fears for his safety. Being apprehensive that some mischance might happen to him in the end, an officer was dispatched to the king, desiring that succours might be sent to the prince's relief. Edward, who had all this time, with great tranquillity, viewed the engagement from a wind-mill, demanded, with seeming deliberation, if his son was dead; but being answered that he still lived, and was giving astonishing in-



tances of valour; «then tell my generals,» cried the king, «that he shall have no assistance from me; the honour of this day shall be his, let him shew himself worthy of the profession of arms, and let him be indebted to his own merit alone for victory.» This speech being reported to the prince and his attendants, it inspired them with new courage; they made a fresh attack upon the French cavalry, and Count Alençon, their bravest commander, was slain. The French being now without a competent leader, were thrown into confusion; their whole army fled, and were put to the sword by the pursuers without mercy, till night stopped the carnage. Never was a victory more seasonable, or less bloody to the English than this. Notwithstanding the great slaughter of the enemy, the conquerors lost but one esquire, three knights, and a few of inferior rank. It is said, that cannon were first used by the English in this battle, of which their army was provided with four pieces.

But this victory was attended with still more substantial advantages; for Edward, as moderate in conquest as prudent in his methods to obtain it, resolved to secure an easy entrance into France for the future. With this view, he laid siege to Calais, that was then defended by John de Vienne, an experienced commander, and supplied with every thing necessary for defence. But it was in vain that the governor made a noble resistance, and that he excluded all the useless mouths from the city, which Edward generously permitted to pass. Edward resolved to reduce it by famine; and it was taken, after a twelve month's siege, the defendants having been reduced to the last extremity. He resolved to  
punish



punish the obstinacy of the townsmen, by the death of six of the most considerable citizens, who offered themselves, with ropes round their necks, to satiate his indignation; but he spared their lives, at the intercession of the queen.

While Edward was reaping victories upon the continent, the Scotch, willing to embrace a favourable opportunity, invaded the frontiers with a numerous army, headed by David Bruce, their king. This, at such a juncture, alarmed the English, but was not capable of intimidating them. Lionel, Edward's son, was yet too young to take upon him the command of an army; but the victories on the continent inspired Philippa, Edward's queen, to take upon her the conduct of the field, and prepare to repulse the enemy in person. Accordingly, having made lord Percy general under her, she met the

Scots at a place called Nevil's Cross,  
A. D. near Durham, and offered them battle.

1346. The Scotch king, no less impatient to engage, imagined that he might obtain an easy victory against undisciplined troops, headed by a woman. But his army was quickly routed, and driven from the field. Fifteen thousand of his men were cut to pieces; and he himself, with many of his nobles and knights, was carried in triumph to London.

A victory gained by the Black Prince near Poitiers followed not longer after, in which John, king of France, was taken prisoner, and led in triumph through London, amidst an amazing concourse of spectators. Two kings, prisoners in the same court, and at the same time, were considered as glorious achievements; but all that England gained by them



was only glory. Whatever was won in France, was successively, and in a manner silently lost, without the mortification of a defeat.

The English, by their frequent supplies, had been quite exhausted, and were unable to continue an army in the field. Charles, who had succeeded his father John, who died a prisoner in the Savoy, cautiously forbore coming to any engagement; and let his enemies waste their strength in attempts to plunder a fortified country. When they were tired, he sallied forth, and possessed himself of such places as they could not defend. He first fell upon Ponthieu; the citizens of Abbeville opened their gates to him; those of St. Valois, Rue, and Crotoy, imitated the example; and the whole country was, in a little time, reduced to total submission. The southern provinces were, in the same manner, invaded by his generals with equal success; while the Black Prince, destitute of supplies from England, and wasted by a cruel and consumptive disorder, was obliged to return to his native country. What, indeed, served to darken the latter part of this splendid reign, was the approaching death of this prince, who expired in 1376, in the forty-sixth year of his age, leaving behind him a character without a single blemish; and a degree of sorrow among the people, that time could scarcely alleviate.

The king was most sensibly affected with the loss of his son; and tried every art to allay his uneasiness. He removed himself entirely from the duties and burdens of the state, and left his kingdom to be plundered by a set of rapacious ministers. He did not, however, long survive the consequences of this conduct; but died about a year after the prince, at



Shene, in Surry, deserted by all his courtiers, even by those who had grown rich by his bounty. He expired in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and fifty-first of his reign, 1377; a prince more admired than beloved by his subjects, and more an object of their applause than their sorrow.

It was in this reign that the order of the Garter was instituted; the number was to consist of twenty-four persons beside the king. A story prevails, but unsupported by any ancient authority, that the countess of Salisbury, at a ball, happening to drop her garter, the king took it up, and presented it to her with these words, « Honni soit qui mal y pense; » Evil be to him that evil thinks. This accident, it is said, gave rise to the order and the motto.

A. D.

1340.

## CHAPTER XV.

RICHARD II.

A. D. 1377-1399.

**R**ICHARD II. the son of the Black Prince, was but eleven years old when he came to the throne of his grand-father. As he was a minor, the government was vested in the hands of his three uncles, the dukes of Lancaster, York, and Gloucester; and as the late king had left the kingdom involved in wars, which demanded large and constant supplies, the murmurs of the people increased in proportion. The expences of armaments to face the enemy on every side, and the want of economy in the administra-



tion, entirely exhausted the treasury; and a new tax of three groats on every person above fifteen, was granted by parliament as a supply. The indignation of the people had been for some time increasing; but a tax so unequitable, in which the rich paid no more than the poor, kindled the resentment of the latter into a flame. It began in Essex, where a blacksmith, known by the name of Wat Tyler, was the first who excited them to arms. The tax-gatherers coming to his house while he was at work, demanded payment for his daughter, which he refused, alledging she was under the age mentioned in the act. One of the brutal collectors insisted on her being a full grown woman, and immediately attempted a very indecent proof of his assertion, which provoked the father to strike him dead with a blow of his hammer. The standers-by applauded his spirit, and, one and all, resolved to defend his conduct. He was considered as a champion in the cause, and appointed the leader and spokesman of the people. It is easy to imagine the disorders committed by this tumultuous rabble: the whole neighbourhood rose in arms; and burnt and plundered wherever they came. As the discontent was general, the insurgents increased in proportion as they approached the capital. The flame soon propagated itself into Kent, Hertfordshire, Surry, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln. They were found to amount to above one hundred thousand men by the time they arrived at Blackheath. At the head of one party of these was Wat Tyler, who led his men into Smithfield, where he was met by the king, who invited him to declare his grievances. Tyler ordered his companions to retire, till he



should give them a signal, boldly ventured to meet the king in the midst of his retinue, and accordingly began the conference. The demands of this demagogue are censured by all the historians of the times, as insolent and extravagant; and yet nothing can be more just than those they have delivered for him. He required that all slaves should be set free; that all commonages should be open to the poor as well as rich; and that a general pardon should be passed for the late outrages. Whilst he made these demands, he now and then lifted up his sword in a menacing manner; which insolence so raised the indignation of William Walworth, then mayor of London, attending on the king, that without considering the danger to which he exposed his majesty, he stunned Tyler with a blow of his mace; while one of the king's knights, riding up, dispatched him with his sword. The mutineers, seeing their leader fall, prepared themselves to take revenge; and their bows were bent for execution, when Richard, though not yet quite sixteen years of age, rode up to the rebels, and, with admirable presence of mind, cried out, «What! my people, will you then kill your king? Be not concerned for the loss of your leader; I myself will now be your general; follow me to the field, and you shall have whatever you desire.» The awed multitude immediately desisted; they followed the king, as if mechanically, into the fields, and there he granted them the same charter that he had before given to their companions; but which he soon after revoked in parliament.

Hitherto the king had acted under the controul of the regency, who did all they could devise to



abridge his power ; however , in an extraordinary council of the nobility , assembled after Easter , he , to the astonishment of all present desired to know his age ; and being told that he was turned of two and twenty , he alledged , that it was time then to govern without help ; and that there was no reason that he should be deprived of those rights which the meanest of his subjects enjoyed. But it quickly appeared that he wanted those arts that procure a lasting respect ; he was fond of luxurious pleasures and idle ostentation ; he admitted the meanest ranks to his familiarity : and his conversation was not adapted to impress them with a reverence for his morals or abilities. The cruelty shown to the duke of Gloucester , who , upon slight suspicion , was sent to confinement in Calais , and there murdered in prison , with some other acts equally arbitrary , did not fail to increase those animosities which had already taken deep root in the kingdom. The aggrandizement of some new favourites contributed still more to make the king odious ; but though he seemed resolved , by all his actions , to set his subjects against him , it was an accident that gave occasion for his overthrow. The duke of Hereford appeared in parliament , and accused the duke of Norfolk of having spoken seditious words against his majesty in a private conversation. Norfolk denied the charge , gave Hereford the lie , and offered to prove his innocence by single combat. The lords readily acquiesced ; the time and place were appointed ; and the whole nation waited with anxious suspense for the event. At length the day arrived on which this duel was to be fought,

A. D.

1389.



and the champions having just began their career, the king stopped the combat, and ordered both the combatants to leave the kingdom. The duke of Norfolk he banished for life; but the duke of Hereford only for ten years. Thus the one was condemned to exile without being charged with any offence; and the other without being convicted of any crime. The duke of Norfolk was overwhelmed with grief and despondence at the judgment awarded against him; and retired to Venice, where, in little time after, he died of a broken heart. Hereford's behaviour on this occasion was resigned and submissive, which so pleased the king, that he consented to shorten the date of his banishment four years; and he also granted him letters patent, insuring him the enjoyment of any inheritance which should fall to him during his absence; but upon the death of his father, the duke of Lancaster, which happened shortly after, Richard revoked those letters, and retained the possession of the Lancaster estate to himself.

Such complicated injuries served to inflame the resentment of Hereford against the king: and although he had hitherto concealed it, he now conceived a desire of dethroning him. Indeed no man could be better qualified for an enterprise of this nature: he was cool, cautious, discerning, and resolute. He had served with distinction against the infidels of Lithuania; and was esteemed for piety and valour. He was stimulated by private injuries; and had alliances and fortune sufficient to give weight to his measures. He only waited the absence of the king; and Richard's going over into Ireland to quell an insurrection there, was the opportunity he long had looked for.



Accordingly he instantly embarked at Nantz, with a retinue of sixty persons, in small vessels, and landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. The earl of Northumberland, who had long been a malcontent, together with Henry Percy, his son, who, from his ardent valour, was surnamed Hotspur, immediately joined him with their forces. After this junction the concourse of people coming to list under his banner was so great, that, in a few days, his army amounted to three-score thousand men.

Whilst these things were transacting in England, Richard continued in Ireland in perfect security. Contrary winds, for three weeks together, prevented his receiving any news of the rebellion which was begun in his native dominions; wherefore, upon landing at Milford-haven with a body of twenty thousand men, he saw himself in a dreadful situation, in the midst of an enraged people, without any friend on whom to rely; and forsaken by those, who, in the sunshine of his power, had only contributed to his follies. His little army gradually began to desert him, till at last he found that he had not above six thousand men who followed his standard. Then seeing no other hopes of safety, but to throw himself upon the generosity of his enemy, he sent Hereford word, that he was ready to submit to whatever terms he thought proper to prescribe, and that he earnestly desired a conference. For this purpose, the earl appointed him to meet at a castle within about ten miles of Chester, where he came the next day with his whole army. Richard, who the day before had been brought thither by the duke of Northumberland, descrying his rival's approach from the walls, went down to receive him;

ab : da sb

o o o x r o o o o x r o

q s r p : q s r p : q s



while Hereford, after some ceremony, entered the castle in complete armour, only his head was bare, in compliment to the fallen king. Richard received him with that open air for which he had been remarkable, and kindly bade him welcome. « My Lord, the king », returned the earl, with a cool respectful bow, « I am come sooner than you appointed, because your people say, that for one and twenty years you have governed with rigour and indiscretion. They are very ill satisfied with your conduct, but if it please God, I will help you to govern them better for the time to come. » To this declaration the king made no other answer but, « Fair cousin, since it pleases you, it pleases us likewise. »

But Hereford's haughty answer was not the only mortification the unfortunate Richard was to endure. After a short conversation with some of the king's attendants, Hereford ordered the king's horses to be brought out of the stable; and two wretched animals being produced, Richard was placed upon one, and his favourite, the earl of Salisbury, upon the other. In this mean equipage they rode to Chester; and were conveyed to the castle with a great noise of trumpets, and through a vast concourse of people, who were no way moved at the sight. In this manner he was led triumphantly along, from town to town, amidst multitudes, who scoffed at him, and extolled his rival. Long live the good duke of Lancaster, our deliverer! was the general cry; and thus after repeated indignities, he was confined a close prisoner in the Tower. The wretched monarch, humbled in this manner, began to lose the pride of a king with the splendours of royalty, and his spirits sunk to



his circumstances. There was no great difficulty, therefore, in inducing him to sign a deed, by which he renounced his crown, as being unqualified for governing the kingdom. Upon his resignation Hereford founded his principal claim; but willing to fortify his pretensions, he called a parliament, which readily approved and confirmed his claims. A frivolous charge of thirty-three articles was drawn up against the king; upon which he was solemnly deposed, and the earl of Hereford elected in his stead, by the title of Henry the IVth. Thus began the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, which, for several years after, deluged the kingdom with blood; and yet, in the end, contributed to settle and confirm the constitution.

When Richard was deposed, the earl of Northumberland made a motion in the house of peers, demanding the advice of parliament, with regard to the future treatment of the deposed king. To this they replied, that he should be imprisoned in some secure place, where his friends and partizans should not be able to find him. But while he continued alive, the usurper could not remain in safety. Indeed, some conspiracies and commotions, which followed soon after, induced Henry to wish for Richard's death; in consequence of which, an assassin went down to the place of this unfortunate monarch's confinement, in the castle of Pomfret, and, with eight of his followers, rushed into his apartment. The king, concluding their design was to take away his life, resolved to sell it as dearly as he could; and wresting a pole-axe from one of the murderers he soon laid four of their number dead at his feet. But he was at length overpowered and



struck dead with the blow of a pole-axe; although some assert that he was starved in prison. This happened in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty third of his reign. Though his conduct was blameable, yet the punishment he suffered was greater than his offences; and, in the end, his sufferings made more converts to his family and cause, than ever his most meritorious actions could have procured them. He left no posterity, either legitimate or otherwise.

CHAPTER XVI.

HENRY IV.

A. D. 1399-1412.

**H**ENRY soon found that the throne of an usurper is but a bed of thorns. Violent animosities broke out among the barons in the first session of his parliament, and though these commotions were seemingly suppressed by his moderation, that formed against him by the earl of Northumberland  
A. D. 1402. was truly formidable. It was in a skirmish between the Scotch and English, that Archibald, earl of Douglas, with many of the Scotch nobility, were taken prisoners by the earl of Northumberland, and carried to Alnwick castle. When Henry received the news, he sent the earl orders not to ransom his prisoners, as he intended to detain them, in order to increase his demands, in making peace with Scotland. This message was highly resented by the earl of Northumberland,



who, by the laws of war that prevailed in that age, had a right to the ransom of all such as he had taken in battle, and he considered the king as his debtor both for security and his crown. Accordingly, stung with this supposed injury, he resolved to overturn a throne which he had the chief hand in establishing. A scheme was laid, in which the Scotch and Welch were to unite their forces, and to assist Northumberland in elevating Mortimer, as the true heir to the crown of England. When all things were prepared, the earl had the mortification to find himself unable to lead on the troops, being seized with a sudden illness at Berwick. But the want of his presence was well supplied by his son, Harry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, who took the command of the troops, and marched them towards Shrewsbury, in order to join his forces with those of Glendour, a Welsh chieftain, who, some time before, had been exchanged from prison, and had now advanced with his forces as far as Shropshire. Upon the junction of these two armies, they published a manifesto, which aggravated their real grievances, and invented more. Henry was, at first, greatly surprised at the news of this rebellion. But fortune seemed to befriend him on this occasion; he had a small army in readiness, which he intended against the Scotch, and he instantly hurried down to Shrewsbury, that he might give the rebels battle.

Upon the approach of the two armies, both sides seemed willing to give a colour to their cause, by shewing a desire of reconciliation; but when they came to open their mutual demands, the treaty was turned into abuse and recrimination. On one side was objected rebellion and ingratitude; on the other

tyranny



tyranny and usurpation. The two armies were pretty nearly equal, each consisting of about twelve thousand men; and the animosity on both sides was inflamed to the highest pitch. Accordingly, a very bloody engagement ensued, in which the generals on both sides exerted themselves with great bravery. Henry was seen every where in the thickest of the fight, while his valiant son, who was afterwards the renowned conqueror of France, fought by his side, and though wounded in the face by an arrow, still kept the field, and performed astonishing acts of valour. On the other side, the daring Hotspur supported that renown which he had acquired in so many bloody engagements, and every where sought out the king as a noble object of indignation. At last, however, his death, from an unknown hand, decided the victory, and the fortune of Henry once more prevailed. On this day, it is said that no less than two thousand three hundred gentlemen were slain, and about six thousand private men, of whom two thirds were of Hotspur's army.

While this furious transaction was going forward, Northumberland, who was lately recovered from his indisposition, was advancing with a body of troops to reinforce the army of malcontents, and take upon him the command. But hearing by the way of his son's and brother's misfortune, he dismissed his troops, and for a while attempted to find safety by flight, until pressed by his pursuers, and finding himself totally without resource, he chose to throw himself upon the king's mercy. Upon his appearing before Henry at York, he pretended, that his sole intention in arming was to mediate between



the two parties; and this weak apology seemed to satisfy the king, and he was pardoned.

The calm which was thus produced, was employed by Henry in endeavours to acquire popularity, which he had lost by the severities exercised during the preceding part of his reign. For that reason he often permitted the house of commons, to assume powers which had not been usually exercised by their predecessors. In the sixth year of his reign, when they voted him the supplies, they appointed treasurers of their own, to see the money disbursed for the purposes intended: and required them to deliver in their accounts to the house. They proposed thirty very important articles for the government of the king's household; and, on the whole, preserved their privileges and freedoms more entire during his reign than that of any of his predecessors. But while the king thus laboured to retrieve the reputation he had lost, his son Henry, prince of Wales, seemed equally bent on incurring the public aversion. He became notorious for all kinds of debauchery, and ever chose to be surrounded by a set of wretches, who took' pride in committing the most illegal acts with that prince at their head. The king was not a little mortified at this degeneracy in his eldest son, who seemed entirely forgetful of his station, although he had already exhibited repeated proofs of his valour, conduct, and generosity. Such were the excesses into which he ran, that one of his dissolute companions having been brought to trial before Sir William Gascoyne, chief justice of the king's bench, for some misdemeanor, the prince was so exasperated at the issue



of the trial, that he struck the judge in open court. The venerable magistrate, who knew the reverence that was due to his station, behaved with a dignity that became his office, and immediately ordered the prince to be committed to prison. When this transaction was reported to the king, who was an excellent judge of mankind, he could not help exclaiming in a transport. « Happy is the king, that has a magistrate endowed with courage to execute the laws upon such an offender; still more happy in having a son willing to submit to such a chastisement! » This, in fact, is one of the first great instances we read in the English history of a magistrate doing justice in opposition to power. Henry, however, did not long outlive this transaction. He was subject to fits, which bereaved him, for the time, of his senses; and which at last brought on his death, at Westminster, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

## CHAPTER XVII.

HENRY V.

A. D. 1412-1422.

THE first steps taken by the young king were magnanimous. He called together his former abandoned companions, acquainted them with his intended reformation, exhorted them to follow his example, and then dismissed them from his presence, allowing them a competency to subsist upon till he saw them worthy of a farther promotion.



The faithful ministers of his father, who at first began to tremble for their justice, in the administration of their duty, were taken into his friendship and confidence. Sir William Gascoyne, who thought himself the most obnoxious, met with due praise, and was exhorted to persevere in the same rigorous and impartial execution of justice.

About this time the heresy of Wickliff or Lollardism, as it was called, but in truth, the first principles of the reformation, began to spread every day more and more, while it received a new lustre from the protection and preaching of Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham, who had been one of the king's domestics, and stood high in his favour. The primate, however, indicted this nobleman, and with the assistance of his suffragans, condemned him as an heretic to be burnt alive. Cobham having escaped from the Tower in which he was confined, the day before his execution, privately went among his party, and, stimulating their zeal, led them up to London, to take a signal revenge on his enemies. But the king, apprised of his intentions, ordered that the city gates should be shut, and coming by night with his guards into St. Giles's field, seized such of the conspirators as appeared, and afterwards laid hold of several parties that were hastening to the appointed place. Some of these were executed, but the greater number pardoned. Cobham himself found means of escaping for that time, but he was taken about four years after; and never did the cruelty of man invent, or crimes draw down such torments as he was made to endure. He was hung up with a chain by the middle, and



thus at a slow fire burned , or rather roasted alive.

Henry, to turn the minds of the people from such hideous scenes , resolved to take advantage of the troubles in which France was at that time engaged ; and assembling a great fleet and army at Southampton , landed at Harfleur , at the head of an army of six thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand foot, mostly archers. But although the enemy made but a feeble resistance, yet the climate seemed to fight against the English ; a contagious dysentery carrying off three parts of Henry's army, who began to repent of his rash inroad into a country where disease and a powerful army every where threatened destruction : he , therefore, determined to retire into Calais.

The enemy, however, resolved to intercept his retreat ; and after he had passed the small river of Ternois at Blangi, he was surprised to observe from the heights the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Azincourt ; and so posted, that it was impossible for him to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement. No situation could be more unfavourable than that in which he stood. His army was wasted with disease , the soldiers spirits worn down with fatigue , destitute of provisions , and discouraged by their retreat. Their whole body amounted but to nine thousand men ; and these were to sustain the shock of an enemy near ten times the number, headed by expert generals , and plentifully supplied with provisions. As the enemy was so much superior, he drew up his army in a narrow ground between two woods , which guarded each flank ; and patiently



expected, in that position, the attack of the enemy. The constable of France was at the head of one army; and Henry himself, with Edward duke of York, commanded the other. For a time both armies, as if afraid to begin, kept silently gazing at each other, neither willing to break their ranks by making the onset; which Henry perceiving, with a cheerful countenance, cried out, « My friends, since they will not begin, it is ours to set them the example; come on, and the blessed Trinity be our protection. » Upon this, the whole army set forward with a shout, while the French still waited their approach with intrepidity. The English archers who had long been famous for their great skill, let fly a shower of arrows three feet long, which did great execution. The French cavalry advancing to repel these two hundred bowmen, who lay till then concealed, rising on a sudden, let fly among them and produced such a confusion, that the archers threw by their arrows, and rushing in, fell upon them sword in hand. The French at first repulsed the assailants who were enfeebled by disease, but they soon made up the defect by their valour; and burst in upon the enemy with such impetuosity, that the French were soon obliged to give way.

They were overthrown in every part of the field; their numbers being crowded in a very narrow space, were incapable of either flying or making any resistance, so that they covered the ground with heaps of slain. After all appearance of opposition was over, there was heard an alarm from behind, which proceeded from a number of peasants who had fallen upon the English baggage, and were



putting those who guarded it to the sword. Henry now seeing the enemy on all sides of him, began to entertain apprehensions from his prisoners, the number of whom exceeded even that of his army. He thought it necessary, therefore, to issue general orders for putting them to death; but on the discovery of the certainty of his victory, he stopped the slaughter, and was still able to save a great number. This severity tarnished the glory which his victory would otherwise have acquired; but all the heroism of that age is tinged with barbarity. In this battle the French lost ten thousand men, and fourteen thousand prisoners; and the English only forty men in all.

France was at that time in a wretched  
**A. D.** situation; the whole kingdom appeared  
**1417.** as one vast theatre of crimes, murders,  
injustice, and devastation. The duke of  
Orleans was assassinated by the duke of Burgundy;  
and the duke of Burgundy, in his turn, fell by  
the treachery of the dauphin. A state of imbecility  
into which Charles had fallen, made him passive  
in every transaction; and Henry, at last, by conquest  
and negotiation, caused himself to be elected heir  
to the throne. The principal articles of this treaty  
were, that Henry should espouse the princess Catherine,  
daughter of the king of France; that king Charles  
should enjoy the title and dignity for life; but that  
Henry should be declared heir to the crown, and should  
be entrusted with the present administration of the  
government; that France and England should for ever  
be united under one king, but should still retain their  
respective laws and privileges.



In consequence of this, Henry fixed  
A. D. his residence at Paris ; and while Charles  
1421. had but a small court , he was attended  
with a very magnificent one. On Whit-  
sunday the two kings and their two queens, with  
crowns on their heads, dined together in public ;  
Charles receiving apparent homage , but Henry  
commanding with absolute authority. At this time,  
however, when his glory had nearly reached its  
summit , and both crowns were devolved upon  
him , he was seized with a fistula , which soon  
became mortal. He expired in the thirty - fourth  
year of his age , and the tenth of his reign.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

HENRY VI.

A. D. 1422-1461.

**T**HE duke of Bedford , one of the most accom-  
plished princes of the age , and equally experienced  
both in the cabinet and the field , was appointed  
by parliament protector of England , defender of  
the church , and first counsellor to the king during  
his minority , as he was not yet a year old ; and  
as France was the great object that engrossed all  
consideration , he attempted to exert the efforts of  
the nation upon the continent with all his vigour.

A new revolution was produced in that kingdom,  
by means apparently the most unlikely to be at-  
tended with success. In the village of Domremi,  
near Vaucouleurs , on the borders of Lorraine ,



there lived a country girl , about twenty-seven years of age , called Joan of Arc. This girl had been a servant at a small inn ; and in that humble station had submitted to those hardy employments which fit the body for the fatigues of war. She was of an irreproachable life , and had hitherto testified none of those enterprising qualities which displayed themselves soon after. Her mind , however , brooding with melancholy steadfastness upon the miserable situation of her country , began to feel several impulses , which she was willing to mistake for the inspirations of heaven. Convinced of their reality , she had recourse to one Baudricourt , governor of Vaucouleurs , and informed him of her destination by heaven , to free her native country from its fierce invaders. Baudricourt treated her at first with some neglect ; but at length willing to make a trial of her pretensions , gave her some attendants to the French court , which at that time resided at Chinon.

The French court were probably sensible of the weakness of her pretensions , but they were willing by any means to support their declining fortunes. It was , therefore , given out , that Joan was actually inspired ; that she was able to discover the king among the number of his courtiers , although he had laid aside all the distinctions of his authority ; that she had told him some secrets , which were only known to himself ; and that she had demanded and minutely described a sword in the church of St. Catherine de Firebois , which she had never seen. In this manner the minds of the vulgar being prepared for her appearance , she was armed cap-a-pee , mounted on a charger , and



shewn in that martial dress to the people. She was then brought before the doctors of the university; and they readily seconded the imposture.

When the preparations for her mission were completely blazoned, their next aim was to send her against the enemy. The English were at that time besieging the city of Orleans, the last resource of Charles, and every thing promised them a speedy surrender. Joan undertook to raise the siege; and, to render herself still more remarkable, girded herself with the miraculous sword of which she had before such extraordinary notices. Thus equipped, she ordered all the soldiers to confess themselves before they set out; she displayed in her hand a consecrated banner, and assured the troops of certain success. Such confidence on her side soon raised the spirits of the French army; and even the English, who pretended to despise her efforts, felt themselves secretly influenced with the terrors of her mission, and relaxing in their endeavours, the siege was raised with great precipitation. From being attacked, the French now in turn became the aggressors. One victory followed another, and at length the French king was solemnly crowned at Rheims, which was what Joan had promised should come to pass.

A tide of successes followed the performance of this solemnity; but Joan having thrown herself into the city of Compiègne with a body of troops that was then besieging by the duke of Burgundy, she was taken prisoner in a sally which she headed against the enemy, the governor shutting the gates behind her. The duke of Bedford was no sooner informed of her being taken, than he purchased



her of the Count Vendome, who had made her his prisoner, and ordered her to be committed to close confinement. The credulity of both nations was at that time so great, that nothing was too absurd to gain belief that coincided with their passions. As Joan but a little before, from her successes, was regarded as a saint, she was now, upon her captivity, considered as a sorceress, forsaken by the dæmon who had granted her a fallacious and temporary assistance; and, accordingly, being tried at Rouen, she was found guilty of heresy and witchcraft, and sentenced to be burnt alive, which was executed accordingly with the most ignorant malignity.

The English affairs however became totally irretrievable, and the city of Paris returned once more to a sense of its duty. Thus ground was continually, though slowly, gained by the French; in

A. D. the lapse of a few years Calais alone re-  
1443. mained of all the conquests that had been made in France; and this was but a

small compensation for the blood and treasure which had been lavished in that country. But as the incapacity of Henry appeared in a fuller light, and foreign war was extinguished, the people began to prepare for the horrors of intestine strife, and a new interest was revived, which had lain dormant in the times of prosperity and triumph. Richard, duke of York, was descended, by the mother's side, from Lionel, one of the sons of Edward the third; whereas, the reigning king was descended from John of Gaunt, a younger son of the same monarch; Richard, therefore stood plainly in succession before Henry; and began to think this a favourable



moment for ambition. The ensign of Richard was a white rose, that of Henry a red : and this gave name to the two factions, whose animosity was now about to drench the kingdom with slaughter.

Among the number of complaints which the unpopularity of the government gave rise to, there were some which even excited insurrection : particularly that headed by John Cade, which was of the most dangerous nature. This man was a native of Ireland, who had been obliged to fly over into France for his crimes : but seeing the people upon his return prepared for violent measures, he assumed the name of Mortimer, and at the head of twenty thousand Kentish-men advanced towards the capital, and encamped at Blackheath. The king being informed of this commotion, sent a message to demand the cause of their assembling in arms ; and Cade, in the name of the community, answered, that their only aim was to punish evil ministers, and procure a redress of grievances for the people. But committing some abuses, and engaging with the citizens, he was abandoned by most of his followers, and retreating to Rochester, was obliged to fly alone into the woods of Kent, where a price being set upon his head by proclamation, he was discovered and slain.

In the mean time the duke of York secretly fomented these disturbances, and pretending to espouse the cause of the people, still aspired to the crown, which he was for some time prevented by his own scruples from seizing. What his intrigues failed to bring about, accident produced to his desire. The king falling into a distemper, which so far increased his natural imbecility, that it even rendered him incapable of maintaining the appea-



rance of royalty, York was appointed lieutenant and protector of the kingdom, with powers to hold and open parliaments at pleasure.

Being thus invested with power, he continued in the enjoyment of it for some time : but at length the unhappy king recovering from his lethargic complaint, and, as if awaking from a dream, perceived, with surprise, that he was stripped of all authority. Henry was married to Margaret of Anjou, a woman of a masculine understanding, who obliged him to take the field ; and in a manner dragged him to it, where both sides came to an engagement, in which the Yorkists gained a complete victory. The king himself being wounded, and taking shelter in a cottage, was taken prisoner, but was treated by the victor with so great respect and tenderness, that he seemed pleased with his situation, until Margaret once more induced

A. D. 1459. him to assert his prerogative. The contending parties met at Blore-heath, on the borders of Staffordshire, and the Yorkists gained some advantages ; but Sir Andrew Trollop who commanded a body of veterans for the duke of York, deserted, with all his men, to the king ; and this so intimidated the whole army of the Yorkists, that they separated the next day without striking a single blow. Several other engagements followed with various success. Margaret being at one time victorious, at another an exile, the victory upon Wakefield-green, in which the duke of York was slain, seemed to fix her good fortune.

But the earl of Warwick, who now put himself at the head of the Yorkists, was one of the most



celebrated generals of his age, formed for times of trouble; extremely artful, and incontestably brave; equally skilful in council and the field, and inspired with a degree of hatred against the queen that nothing could suppress. He commanded an army, in which he led about the captive king to give a sanction to his attempts. Upon the approach of the Lancastrians he conducted his forces, strengthened by a body of Londoners, who were very affectionate to his cause, and gave battle to the queen at St. Alban's. In this, however, he was defeated; about two thousand of the Yorkists perished in the battle, and the person of the king again fell into the hands of his own party, to be treated with apparent respect, but real contempt.

In the mean time, young Edward, the eldest son of the late duke of York, began to repair the losses his party had lately sustained, and to give spirit to the Yorkists. This prince, in the bloom of youth, remarkable for the beauty of his person, his bravery, and popular deportment, advanced towards London with the remainder of Warwick's army; and obliging Margaret to retire, entered the city amidst the acclamations of the people. Perceiving his own popularity, he supposed that now was the time to lay his claim to the crown; and

A. D. his friend Warwick, assembling the ci-  
 1461. tizens in St. John's fields, pronounced an harangue, setting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing against the tyranny and usurpation of the house of Lancaster. Both sides at length met near Towson, in the county of York, to decide the fate of empire, and never was England depopulated by so terrible an engagement.

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While the army of Edward was advancing to the charge, there happened a great fall of snow which driving full in the faces of the enemy, blinded them, and this advantage, seconded by an impetuous onset, decided the victory in their favour. Edward issued orders to give no quarter; and a bloody slaughter ensued, in which near forty thousand of the Lancastrians were slain. The weak, unfortunate Henry, was taken prisoner, carried to London with ignominy, and confined in the Tower. Margaret contrived to escape out of the kingdom, and took refuge with her father in Flanders.

Edward being now, by means of the earl of Warwick, fixed upon the throne, reigned in peace and security, while his title was recognized by parliament, and universally submitted to by the people. He began, therefore, to give a loose to his favourite passions: and a spirit of gallantry mixed with cruelty was seen to prevail in his court. In the very same palace, which one day exhibited a spectacle of horror, was to be seen the day following a mask or a pageant; and the king would at once gallant a mistress, and inspect an execution. In order to turn him from these unpopular pursuits, the earl of Warwick advised him to marry; and, with his consent, went over to France to procure Bona of Savoy as queen: and the match was accordingly concluded. But whilst the earl was hastening the negotiation in France, the king married Elizabeth Woodville, with whom he had fallen in love, and whom he had vainly endeavoured to debauch. Having thus given Warwick real cause of offence, he widened the breach, by driving him from the council. War-

A. D.

1464.



wick whose prudence was equal to his bravery; soon made use of both to assist his revenge; and formed such a combination against Edward, that he was, in turn, obliged to fly the kingdom, and king Henry was released from prison to be placed upon a dangerous throne. A parliament was called, which confirmed Henry's title with great solemnity, and Warwick was himself received among the people under the title of the King-maker.

But Edward's party, though repressed, was not destroyed. Though an exile in Holland, he had many partizans at home; and after an absence of nine months, being seconded by a small body of forces, granted him by the duke of Burgundy, he made a descent at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. Though, at first, he was coolly received by the English, yet his army increased upon his march, while his moderation and feigned humility added to the number of his partizans. London opened her gates to him; and the wretched Henry was once more plucked from his throne, to be sent back to his former mansion.

Nothing now, therefore, remained to Warwick, but to cut short a state of anxious suspense by hazarding a battle. Edward's fortune prevailed. They met at St. Alban's, and the Lancastrians were defeated, while Warwick himself, leading a chosen body of troops into the thickest of the slaughter, fell in the midst of his enemies, covered with wounds.

Margaret, receiving the fatal news of the death of the brave Warwick, and the total destruction of her party, gave way to her grief, for the first time, in a torrent of tears; and took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu, in Hampshire, where she soon found some new friends willing to assist her. Tu-



dor, earl of Pembroke, Courtney, earl of Devonshire, the lords Wenlock and St. John, with other men of rank, exhorted her to hope for success, and offered to assist her to the last. She had now fought battles in almost every province of England; Tewkesbury-park was the last scene that terminated her attempts. The duke of Somerset headed her army; a man who had shared her dangers, and had ever been steady in her cause. He was valiant, generous, and polite, but rash and headstrong. When Edward first attacked him in his entrenchments, he repulsed him with such vigour, that the enemy retired with precipitation; upon which the duke, supposing them routed, pursued, and ordered lord Wenlock to support his charge. But unfortunately this lord disobeyed his orders; and Somerset's forces were soon overpowered by numbers. In this dreadful exigence the duke, finding that all was over, became ungovernable in his rage; and beholding Wenlock inactive, and remaining in the very place where he had first drawn up his men, giving way to his fury, with his heavy battle-axe in both hands, he ran upon the coward, and with one blow dashed out his brains.

The queen and the prince were taken prisoners after the battle, and brought into the presence of Edward. The young prince appeared before the conqueror with undaunted majesty; and being asked, in an insulting manner, how he dared to invade England without leave, more mindful of his high birth than of his ruined fortune, he replied, « I have entered the dominions of my father, to revenge his injuries, and redress my own. » The barbarous Edward, enraged at his intrepidity, struck him on



his mouth with his gauntlet; and this served as a signal for farther brutality: the dukes of Gloucester, Clarence, and others, like wild beasts, rushed on the unarmed youth at once, stabbing him to the heart with their daggers. To complete the tragedy, Henry himself, who had long been the passive spectator of all these horrors, was now thought unfit to live. The duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard the third, entering his chamber alone, murdered him in cold blood. Of all those that were taken, none were suffered to survive but Margaret herself. It was perhaps expected that she would be ransomed by the king of France; and they were not deceived, as that monarch paid the king of England fifty thousand crowns for her freedom. This extraordinary woman, after having sustained the cause of her husband in twelve battles; after having survived her friends, fortunes, and children, died a few years after in privacy in France, very miserable indeed; but with few other claims to our pity, except her courage and her distresses.

## CHAPTER XIX.

EDWARD IV.

A. D. 1461-1483.

EDWARD being now freed from great enemies, turned his punishments to those of lesser note; so that the gibbets were hung with his adversaries, and their estates confiscated to his use, but while he was thus rendering himself terrible on the one



hand, he was immersed in abandoned pleasures on the other, and his courtiers seemed willing to encourage debaucheries in which they had a share; and the clergy were ready to lend absolution to all his failings. Enormous vices had been of late so common, that adultery was held as a very slight offence. Among the number of his mistresses was the wife of one Shore, a merchant in the city, a woman of exquisite beauty and good sense, but who had not virtue enough to resist the temptations of a beautiful man and a monarch.

Among his other cruelties, that to his brother the duke of Clarence is the most remarkable. The king hunting one day in the park of Thomas Burdet, a friend of the duke, killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of the owner. Burdet, vexed at the loss, broke into a passion, and wished the horns of the deer in the belly of the person who advised the king to that insult. For this trifling exclamation Burdet was tried for his life, and publicly executed at Tyburn. The duke of Clarence, upon the death of his friend, vented his grief in renewed reproaches against his brother, and exclaimed against the iniquity of the sentence. The king highly offended with this liberty, or using that as a pretext against him, had him arraigned before the house of peers, and appeared in person as his accuser. In those times of confusion, every crime alledged by the prevailing party was fatal; the duke was found guilty; and being granted a choice of the manner in which he would die, he was privately drowned in a butt of malmsey in the Tower; a whimsical choice, and implying that he had an extraordinary passion for that liquor.



However, if this monarch's reign was tyrannical, it was but short; while he was employed in making preparations for a war with France, he was seized with a distemper of which he expired in the forty-second year of his age, and, (counting from the death of the late king,) in the twenty-third of his reign.

## CHAPTER XX.

EDWARD V.

A. D. 1483.

**T**HE duke of Gloucester, who had been made protector of the realm, upon a pretence of guarding the persons of the late king's children from danger, conveyed them both to the Tower. Having thus secured them, his next step was to spread a report of their illegitimacy; and by pretended obstacles, to put off the day appointed for young Edward's coronation. His next aim was to dispatch lord Hastings, whom he knew to be warmly in the young king's interest.

Having summoned lord Hastings to a council in the Tower, he entered the room knitting his brows, and biting his lips, and shewing, by a frequent change of countenance, the signs of some inward perturbation. A silence ensued for some time; and the lords of the council looked upon each other, expecting some horrid catastrophe. Laying bare his arm all shrivelled and decayed, he accused Jane Shore and her accomplices of having produced this deformity by their sorceries; upon which Hastings



cried, « If they have committed such a crime, they deserve punishment. » « If ! » cried the protector with a loud voice, « dost thou answer me with ifs ? I tell thee that they have conspired my death ; and that thou, traitor, art an accomplice in the crime. » He then struck the table twice with his hands, and the room was instantly filled with armed men. « I arrest thee, » continued he, turning to Hastings, « for high treason ; » and at the same time gave him in charge to the soldiers. Hastings was obliged to make a short confession to the next priest that was at hand ; the protector crying out by St. Paul, that he would not dine till he had seen his head taken off. He was accordingly hurried out to the Little Green before the Tower chapel, and there beheaded on a log of wood that accidentally lay in the way.

Jane Shore, the late king's mistress, was the next who felt his indignation. This unfortunate woman was an enemy too humble to excite his jealousy ; yet as he had accused her of witchcraft of which she was innocent, he thought proper to make her an example for those faults of which she was really guilty. Jane Shore had been formerly deluded from her husband, who was a goldsmith in Lombard-street, and continued to live with Edward, the most guiltless mistress in his abandoned court. The charge against her was too notorious to be denied ; she pleaded guilty, and was accordingly condemned to walk barefoot through the city, and do penance in St. Paul's church in a white sheet, with a wax taper in her hand, before thousands of spectators. She lived above forty years after this sentence, and was reduced to the most extreme indigence,



The protector now began to throw off the mask, and to deny his pretended regard for the sons of the late king, thinking it high time to aspire to the throne more openly. He had previously gained over the duke of Buckingham, a man of talents and power, by bribes and promises of future favour. This nobleman, therefore, used all his arts to cajole the populace and citizens at St. Paul's cross, and construing their silence into consent, his followers cried, « Long live king Richard ! » Soon after the mayor and aldermen waiting upon Richard with an offer of the crown, he accepted it with seeming reluctance.

## CHAPTER XXI.

RICHARD III.

A. D. 1483-1485.

ONE crime ever draws on another; justice will revolt against fraud, and usurpation requires security. As soon, therefore, as Richard was seated upon the throne, he sent the governor of the Tower orders to put the two young princes to death; but this brave man, whose name was Brackenbury, submissively answered, that he knew not how to imbrue his hands in innocent blood. Sir James Tyrrel, however, readily undertook the office, and Brackenbury was ordered to resign to him the keys for one night. Tyrrel choosing three associates, Slater, Deighton, and Forest, came in the night-time to the door of the chamber



where the princes were lodged, and sending in the assassins, he bid them execute their commission, while he himself staid without. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a sound sleep: after suffocating them with the bolster and pillows, they shewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the stair foot, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones.

But while Richard thus endeavoured to establish his power, the duke of Buckingham, who had been instrumental in placing him on the throne, took disgust at being refused some confiscated lands for which he solicited. He therefore levied a body of men in Wales, and advanced, by hasty marches, towards Gloucester, where he designed to cross the Severn. Just at that time the river was swoln to such a degree, that the country on both sides was deluged, and even the tops of some hills were covered with water. This inundation continued for ten days; during which Buckingham's army, composed of Welshmen, could neither pass the river, nor find subsistence on their own side; they were, therefore, obliged to disperse and return home, notwithstanding all the duke's efforts to prolong their stay. In this helpless situation the duke, after a short deliberation, took refuge at the house of one Banister, who had been his servant, and who had received repeated obligations from his family; but Banister, unable to resist the temptation of a large reward that was set upon the duke's head, went and betrayed him to the sheriff of Shropshire, who seized the duke, in the habit of a peasant, and conducted him to Salisbury; where he was instantly tried, condemned, and executed. Information now came



that the earl of Richmond was making preparations to land in England, and assert his claims to the crown. Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken post at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom, and made preparations to oppose the enemy, wherever he should land.

Some time after, however, the earl of Richmond, who was a descendant from John of Gaunt, by the female line, resolved to strike for the crown. He had been long obnoxious to the house of York, and had been obliged to quit the kingdom; but he now knowing how odious the king was, set out from Harfleur in Normandy, with a retinue of about two thousand persons; and after a voyage of six days arrived at Milford-haven, in Wales, where he landed without opposition. Upon news of this descent, Richard who was possessed of courage and military conduct, his only virtues, instantly resolved to meet his antagonist in battle. Richmond, on the other hand, being reinforced by Sir Thomas Bouchier, Sir Walter Hungerford, and others, to the number of about six thousand, boldly advanced; and in a few days both armies drew near Bosworth-field, where the contest that had now for more than forty years filled the kingdom with civil commotions, and deluged its plains with blood, was determined by the death of Richard, who was slain in battle, while Richmond was saluted king, by the title of Henry the seventh.



## CHAPTER XXII.

HENRY VII.

A. D. 1485-1509.

**H**ENRY's first care upon coming to the throne was, to marry the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward the fourth; and thus he blended the interests of the houses of York and Lancaster, so that ever after they were incapable of distinction. A great part of the miseries of his predecessors proceeded from their poverty, which was mostly occasioned by riot and dissipation. Henry saw that money alone could turn the scale of power in his favour; and, therefore, hoarded up all the confiscations of his enemies with the utmost frugality. Immediately after his marriage with Elizabeth, he issued a general pardon to all such as chose to accept it; but people were become so turbulent and factious by a long course of civil war, that no governor could rule them, nor any king please; so that one rebellion seemed extinguished only to give rise to another.

There lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a priest, who possessing some subtlety, and more rashness, trained up Lambert Simnel, a baker's son, to counterfeit the person of the earl of Warwick, the son of the duke of Clarence, who was smothered in a butt of malmsey. But as the impostor was not calculated to bear close inspection, it was thought proper to shew him first at a



distance, and Ireland was judged the fittest theatre for him to support his assumed character.

In this manner king Simnel, being joined by lord Lovel, and one or two more lords of the discontented party, resolved to pass over into England; and accordingly landed in Lancashire, from whence he marched to York, expecting the country would rise and join him. But in this he was deceived; the people, averse to join a body of German and Irish troops, by whom he was supported and kept in awe by the king's reputation, remained in tranquillity, or gave all their assistance to the royal cause. The earl of Lincoln, therefore, to whom the command of the rebel army was given, determined to bring the contest to a short issue. The opposite armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, and fought a battle which was more bloody, and more obstinately disputed, than could have been expected from the inequality of their forces. But victory at length declared in favour of the king, and it proved decisive. Lord Lincoln perished in the field of battle; lord Lovel was never more heard of, and it is supposed he shared the same fate. Simnel, with his tutor Simon, were taken prisoners; and four thousand of the common men fell in battle. Simon, being a priest, could not be tried by the civil power, and was only committed to close confinement. Simnel was too contemptible to excite the king's fears or resentment; he was pardoned, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen, whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of falconer, in which mean employment he died.

A fresh insurrection began in Yorkshire; the people resisting the commissioners who were appointed to



levy the taxes, the earl of Northumberland attempted to enforce the king's commands; but the populace, being by this taught to believe that he was the adviser of their oppressions, flew to arms, attacked his house, and put him to death; and by the advice of one John Achamber, a seditious fellow of mean birth, they chose Sir John Egremont for their leader, and prepared themselves for a vigorous resistance. The king, upon hearing this rash proceeding, immediately levied a force which he put under the earl of Surry; and this nobleman encountering the rebels, dissipated the tumult, and took their leader, Achamber, prisoner. Achamber was shortly afterwards executed, but Sir John Egremont fled to the court of the duchess of Burgundy, the usual retreat of all who were obnoxious to government in England.

One would have imagined, that from the ill success of Simnel's imposture, few would be willing to embark in another of a similar kind. However, this duchess of Burgundy was determined to disturb that government, which she could not subvert. She first procured a report to be spread, that the young duke of York, said to have been murdered in the Tower, was still living; and finding the rumour greedily received, she soon produced a young man who assumed his name and character. The person pitched upon to sustain this part was one Osbeck or Warbeck, the son of a converted Jew, who had been over in England during the reign of Edward the fourth, where he had this son named Peter, but corrupted after the Flemish manner into Peterkin or Perkin. The duchess of Burgundy found this youth entirely suited to her purposes, and her ins-

A. D.

1492.



tructions to personate the duke of York, were easily learned by a youth of very quick apprehension, while his graceful air, his courtly address, his easy manners, and elegant conversation, were capable of imposing upon all but such as were conscious of the imposture. The English, ever ready to revolt, gave credit to all these absurdities; while the young man's prudence served to confirm them.

Among those who secretly abetted the cause of Perkin, were lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, and Sir Robert Clifford. But the person of the greatest weight, was Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, and brother to the famous lord Stanley, who had contributed to place Henry on the throne. This personage, either from blind credulity, or restless ambition, entered into a regular conspiracy against the king; and a correspondence was settled between the malcontents in England and those in Flanders.

While the plot was thus carrying on in all quarters, Henry spared neither labour nor expence to detect the falsehood of the pretender to his crown; and was equally assiduous in finding out his secret abettors. For this purpose he dispersed his spies through all Flanders, and brought over, by large bribes, some of those whom he knew to be in the enemy's interest. Among these Sir Robert Clifford was the most remarkable, for the confidence with which he was trusted. From this person Henry learnt the whole of Perkin's birth and adventures, together with the names of all those who had combined to assist him. The king was at first struck with indignation at the ingratitude of many of those about him; but concealing his resentment



for a proper opportunity, he, almost at the same instant, arrested Fitzwalter, Mountford, and Thwaites, together with William Danbery, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cresfenor, and Thomas Astwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason. Mountford, Ratcliffe, and Danbery were immediately executed; the rest received a pardon.

The young adventurer, finding his hopes frustrated in England, went next to try his fortune in Scotland, and James the fourth, the king of that country, received him with great cordiality; he was seduced to believe the story of his birth and adventures; and he carried his confidence so far, as to give him in marriage lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, a near kinsman of his own; a young lady eminent for virtue as well as beauty. But not content with these instances of favour, he was resolved to attempt setting him on the throne of England, thinking that all the friends of the house of York would rise in his favour. He therefore entered England with a numerous army, and proclaimed the young adventurer wherever he went. But Perkin's pretensions, attended by repeated disappointments, were now become so stale, that, contrary to expectation, none were found to second them.

In this manner the restless Perkin being dismissed Scotland, and meeting with A. D.  
a very cold reception from the Flemings, 1497.  
who now desired to be at peace with  
the English, resolved to continue his scheme of  
opposition; and took refuge among the wilds and  
fastnesses of Ireland. Impatient of an inactive life,



he held a consultation with his followers, Herne, Skelton, and Astley, three broken tradesmen; by their advice he resolved to try the affections of the Cornish men, and he no sooner made his appearance among them at Bodmin in Cornwall than the populace, to the number of three thousand, flocked to his standard. Elated with this appearance of success, he took on him for the first time, the title of Richard the fourth, king of England; and he led his adherents to the gates of Exeter. But finding the inhabitants obstinate in refusing to admit him, and being unprovided with artillery to force an entrance, he broke up the siege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton. His followers by this time amounted to seven thousand men, and appeared ready to defend his cause: but his heart failed him, upon being informed that the king was coming down to oppose him; and he fled privately, and took sanctuary in the monastery of Beaulieu, in the New Forest. His wretched adherents, left to the king's mercy, found him still willing to pardon, and, except a few of the ringleaders, none were treated with capital severity. At the same time some persons were employed to treat with Perkin, and to persuade him, under promise of a pardon, to deliver himself up, and to confess the circumstances of his imposture. His affairs being altogether desperate, he embraced the king's offers without hesitation, and quitted the sanctuary. Henry being desirous of seeing him, he was brought to court, and conducted through the streets of London in a kind of mock triumph, amidst the derision and insults of the populace, which he bore with the most dignified resignation. He was then compelled



to sign a confession of his former life and conduct, which was printed and dispersed throughout the nation : but it was so defective and contradictory that instead of explaining the pretended imposture, it left it still more doubtful than before ; and this youth's real pretensions are to this very day an object of dispute among the learned. After attempting once or twice to escape from custody, he was hanged at Tyburn, and several of his adherents suffered the same ignominious death.

There had been hitherto nothing in this reign but plots, treasons, insurrections, impostures, and executions ; and it is probable that Henry's severity proceeded from the continual alarms in which they held him. It is certain, that no prince ever loved peace more than he ; and much of the ill-will of his subjects arose from his attempts to repress their inclinations for war. The usual preface to all his treaties was, « That when Christ came into the world peace was sung, and when he went out of the world peace was bequeathed. » He had all along two points in view ; one to depress the nobility and clergy, and the other to exalt and humanize the populace. With this view he procured an act, by which the nobility were granted a power of disposing of their estates ; a law infinitely pleasing to the commons, and not disagreeable even to the nobles, since they had thus an immediate resource for supplying their taste for prodigality, and answering the demands of their creditors. The blow reached them in their posterity alone ; but they were too ignorant to be affected by such distant distresses.

He was not less remiss in abridging the pope's



power, while at the same time he professed the utmost submission to his commands, and the greatest respect for the clergy. But while he thus employed his power in lowering the influence of the nobles and clergy, he was using every art to extend the privileges of the people. In fact, his greatest efforts were directed to promote trade and commerce, which introduced a spirit of liberty, and disengaged them from all dependence, except upon the laws and the king. Before this great æra, all our towns owed their origin to some strong castle in the neighbourhood, where some powerful lord generally resided. These were at once fortresses for protection, and prisons for all sorts of criminals. In this castle there was usually a garrison, armed and provided, depending entirely on the nobleman's support and assistance. To these seats of protection, artificers, victuallers, and shopkeepers, naturally resorted, and settled on some adjacent spot to furnish the lord and his attendants with all the necessaries they might require. The farmers also, and the husbandmen, in the neighbourhood, built their houses there, to be protected against the numerous gangs of robbers, that hid themselves in the woods by day, and infested the open country by night. Henry endeavoured to bring the towns from such a neighbourhood, by inviting the inhabitants to a more commercial situation. He attempted to teach them frugality, and a just payment of debts, by his own example; and never once omitted the rights of the merchant, in all his treaties with foreign princes.

Henry having thus seen England in a great measure civilized by his endeavours, his people pay



their taxes without constraint, the nobles confessing subordination, the laws alone inflicting punishment, the towns beginning to live independent of the powerful, commerce every day increasing, the spirit of faction extinguished, and foreigners either fearing England or seeking its alliance, he began to see the approaches of his end, and died of the gout in his stomach, having, lived fifty-two years, and reigned twenty-three. Since the time of Alfred, England had not seen such another king.

A. D.

1509.

He rendered his subjects powerful and happy, and wrought a greater change in the manners of the people than it was possible to suppose could be effected in so short a time.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

HENRY VIII.

A. D. 1509-1546.

NO prince ever came to the throne with a conjuncture of circumstances more in his favour than Henry VIII. now in the eighteenth year of his age. He was at the head of a formidable army, fifty thousand strong, and as a war with France was the most pleasing to the people, he determined to head his forces, for the conquest of that kingdom. But France was not threatened by him alone; the Swiss, on another quarter, with twenty-five thousand men, were preparing to invade it; while Ferdinand of Arragon, whom no treaties could bind, was only



waiting for a convenient opportunity of attack on his side to advantage. Never was the French monarchy in so distressed a situation ; but the errors of its assailants procured its safety.

After an ostentatious but ineffectual campaign , a truce was concluded between the two kingdoms ; and Henry began to dissipate , in more peaceful follies , those immense sums which had been amassed by his predecessor for very different purposes. While , however , his pleasures on the one hand engrossed Henry's time , the preparations for repeated expeditions , exhausted his treasures on the other. As the old ministers , who were appointed to direct him by his father , would not willingly concur in these projects , Henry discontinued asking their advice , and chiefly confided in the counsels of Thomas , afterwards cardinal Wolsey , who complied with all his inclinations , and flattered his sanguine and impetuous temper. He was the son of a private gentleman , and not of a butcher , as is commonly reported , of Ipswich. He was sent to Oxford so early that he was a bachelor at fourteen , and at that time was called the Boy Bachelor. He rose by degrees , upon quitting college , from one preferment to another , till he was made rector of Lymington , by the marquis of Dorset , whose children he had instructed. He had not long resided at this living , when one of the justices of the peace put him in the stocks for being drunk and raising disturbances at a neighbouring fair. This disgrace , however , did not retard his promotion ; for he was recommended as chaplain to Henry the seventh ; and being employed by that monarch in a secret negotiation respecting his intended marriage with Margaret of



Savoy, he acquitted himself to the king's satisfaction, and obtained the praise both of diligence and dexterity. That prince having given him a commission to Maximilian, who at that time resided at Brussels, was surprised in less than three days after to see Wolsey present himself before him; and supposing that he had been negligent, began to reprove his delay. Wolsey, however, surprised him with assurances, that he was just returned from Brussels, and had successfully fulfilled all his majesty's commands. His dispatch on that occasion procured him the deanery of Lincoln, and in this situation it was that he was introduced by Fox, bishop of Winchester, to the young king's notice, in hopes that he might supplant the earl of Surry, who was the favourite at that time. When introduced at court, he was made a privy counsellor; and as such, had frequent opportunities of ingratiating himself with the young king, being at once complying, submissive, and enterprising. Wolsey used every art to suit himself to the royal temper; he sung, laughed, and danced with every libertine of the court: neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character as a clergyman, were any restraint upon him, or his companions. To such a weak and vicious monarch as Henry, qualities of this nature were highly pleasing; and Wolsey was soon acknowledged as his chief favourite, and entrusted with the chief administration of affairs. The people began to see with indignation the new favourite's mean condescensions to the king, and his arrogance to themselves. They had long regarded the vicious haughtiness, and the unbecoming splendour of the clergy, with envy and



detestation, and Wolsey's greatness served to bring a new odium upon that body. His character being now placed in a more conspicuous point of light, daily began to manifest itself the more. He was insatiable in his acquisitions, but still more magnificent in his expence; of extensive capacity, but still more unbounded in enterprise; ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory; insinuating, engaging, persuasive, and at other times lofty, elevated, and commanding: haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependents, oppressive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; formed to take the ascendant in every intercourse, but vain enough not to cover his real superiority.

In order to divert the envy of the public from his inordinate exaltation, he soon entered into a correspondence with Francis the First, of France, who had taken many methods to work upon his vanity, and at last succeeded. In consequence of that monarch's wishes, Henry was persuaded by the cardinal to an interview with that prince. This expensive congress was held between Guisnes and Ardres, near Calais, within the English pale, in compliment to Henry for crossing the sea.

Some months before a defiance had been sent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities of Europe, importing that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready in the plains of Picardy, to answer all comers that were gentlemen, at tilt and tourney. Accordingly, the monarchs all now gorgeously apparelled, entered the lists on horseback, Francis surrounded

A. D.

1520.



surrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with those of Francis. They were both at that time the most comely personages of their age, and prided themselves in their expertness in the military exercises. The ladies were the judges in these feats of chivalry, and they put an end to the encounter whenever they thought proper. It is supposed that the crafty French monarch was willing to gratify Henry's vanity, by allowing him to enjoy a petty preeminence in these pastimes. He ran a tilt against Monsieur Grandeval, whom he disabled at the second encounter. He engaged Monsieur de Montmorency, whom, however, he could not throw from the saddle. He fought at fauchion with a French nobleman, who presented him with his courser, in token of submission.

By such means all the immense treasures of the late king were quite exhausted, and the king relied on Wolsey alone for replenishing his coffers. His first care was to get a large sum of money from the people, under the title of benevolence, which, added to its being extorted, had the mortification of being considered as a free gift, but Wolsey met with some opposition in his attempts to levy this. Having exacted a considerable subsidy from the clergy, he next addressed himself to the house of commons; but they only granted him half the supplies he demanded. Wolsey was at first highly offended at their parsimony, and desired to be heard in the house; but they replied, that none could be permitted to sit and argue there, unless such as had been elected members. This was the first attempt made in this reign to render the king master of the debates in parliament. Wolsey paved



the way ; and Henry too well improved upon his plans soon after.

Hitherto the administration of all affairs was carried on by Wolsey ; for the king was contented to lose in the embraces of his mistresses all the complaints of his subjects. But now a period was approaching that was to put an end to this ministers's exorbitant power. One of the most extraordinary and important revolutions that ever employed the attention of man, was now ripe for execution. This was no less a change than the Reformation.

The vices and impositions of the church of Rome were now almost come to a head ; and the increase of arts and learning among the laity , propagated by means of printing , which had been lately invented , began to make them resist that power , which was

originally founded on deceit. Leo the

A. D. tenth was at that time Pope , and ea-

1519. gerly employed in building the church

of St. Peter at Rome. In order to pro-

cure money for that expensive undertaking , he gave a commission for selling indulgencies , which were to free the purchaser from the pains of purgatory ; and they would serve even for one's friends , if purchased with that intention. There were every where shops opened , where they were to be sold ; they were even to be had at taverns , brothels , and gaming houses. The Augustine friars had usually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgencies , and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration ; but the pope's ministers supposing that they had found out illicit methods of secreting the money , transferred this employment



from them to the Dominicans. Martin Luther, professor in the university of Wirtemberg, was an Augustine monk, and resenting this transfer of the sale of indulgences, began to shew his indignation by preaching against their efficacy, and being naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by opposition, he inveighed against the authority of the pope himself. Being driven hard by his adversaries, still as he enlarged his reading, in order to support his tenets, he discovered some new abuse or error in the church of Rome. In this dispute, it was the fate of Henry to be a champion on both sides. His father, who had given him the education of a scholar, permitted him to be instructed in school-divinity, which then was the principal object of learned enquiry. Henry, therefore, willing to convince the world of his abilities, obtained the pope's permission to read the works of Luther, which had been forbidden, under pain of excommunication. In consequence of this, the king defended the seven sacraments, out of St. Thomas Aquinas; and shewed some dexterity in this, though it is thought that Wolsey had the chief hand in directing him. A book being thus finished in haste, it was sent to Rome for the pope's approbation, and he, ravished with its eloquence and depth, compared it to the labours of St. Jerome or St. Augustine; and rewarded the author with the title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, little imagining that Henry was soon to be one of the most terrible enemies that ever the church of Rome had to contend with.

Henry had now been eighteen years A. D.  
married to Catherine of Arragon, who 1527.



had been brought over from Spain, and married his elder brother, who died a few months after co-habitation. But notwithstanding the submissive deference paid to the church, Henry's marriage with this princess did not pass without scruple and hesitation, both on his own side, and on that of the people. It happened that among the maids of honour then attending the queen, there was one Anna Bullen, the daughter of Sir Thomas Bullen, a gentleman of distinction, and related to most of the nobility. He had been employed by the king in several embassies, and was married to a daughter of the duke of Norfolk. The beauty of Anna surpassed whatever had hitherto appeared at this voluptuous court, and her education which had been at Paris, tended to set off her personal charms. Her features were regular, mild, and attractive, her stature elegant, though below the middle size, while her wit and vivacity exceeded even her other allurements. Henry, who never restrained any passion that he desired to gratify, saw and loved her; but after several efforts found that without marriage he could have no chance of succeeding. This obstacle, therefore, he hardily undertook to remove; and as his own queen was now become hateful to him, in order to procure a divorce, he alledged that his conscience rebuked him for having so long lived in incest with the wife of his brother. In this pretended perplexity, therefore, he applied to Clement the seventh, who owed him many obligations, desiring to dissolve the bull of the former pope, which had given him permission to marry Catherine, and to declare that it was not in the power even of the holy see, to dispense



with a law so strictly enjoined in Scripture. The unfortunate pope, unwilling to grant, yet afraid to refuse, continued to promise, recant, dispute, and temporize; hoping that the king's passion would never hold out during the tedious course of an ecclesiastical controversy. But Henry had been long taught to dispute as well as he, and quickly wrested many texts in Scripture to favour his opinions or his passions.

During the course of a long perplexing negotiation, on the issue of which Henry's happiness seemed to depend, he had at first expected to find in his favourite Wolsey, a warm defender, and a steady adherent; but Wolsey seemed to be in the same dilemma with the pope. On the one hand he was to please his master the king, from whom he had received a thousand marks of favour; and on the other hand, he feared to disoblige the pope, whose servant he more immediately was, and who had power to punish him. He, therefore, though of all men the most haughty, gave way on this occasion to Campegio, the pope's nuncio, in all things, pretending a deference to his skill in canon law. This was highly displeasing to the king, though he endeavoured to stifle his resentment, until he could act with a more fatal certainty. He for some time looked out for a man of equal abilities and less art; and it was not long before an accident threw in his way one Thomas Cranmer, of great talents and of more integrity.

Thus finding himself provided with a person who could supply Wolsey's place, he executed his resentments against that prelate. The attorney-general was ordered to prepare a bill of indictment against



him; and he was soon after commanded to resign the great seal, which was given to Sir Thomas More. He was ordered to depart from Yorkplace palace; and all his furniture and plate were converted to the king's use. The inventory of his goods being taken, they were found to exceed even the most extravagant surmises. Of fine Holland alone there were found a thousand pieces; the walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold and silver, he had a cupboard of plate of massy gold; and all the rest of his riches and furniture were in proportion. He was soon after arrested by the earl of Northumberland, at the king's command, for high treason, and preparations were made for conducting him from York, where he then resided, to London, in order to take his trial. He at first refused to comply with the requisition, as being a cardinal; but finding the earl bent on performing his commission, he complied, and set out, by easy journeys, for London. In his way he staid a fortnight at the earl of Shrewsbury's where, one day at dinner, he was taken ill, not without violent suspicions of having poisoned himself. Being brought forward from thence, he with much difficulty reached Leicester Abbey, where the monks coming out to meet him, he said, « Father abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you; » and immediately ordered his bed to be prepared. As his disorder increased, an officer being placed near, at once to guard and attend him, he spoke to him a little before he expired, to this effect: « I pray you have me heartily recommended unto his royal majesty: he is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart, and rather than he will miss, or want any part of



his will, he will endanger one half of his kingdom. I do assure you, I have kneeled before him for three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail. Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my indulgent pains and study : not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince. » He died soon after, in all the pangs of remorse, and left a life which he had all along rendered turbid by ambition, and wretched by mean assiduities.

The tie that held Henry to the church being thus broken, he resolved to keep no farther measures with the pontiff. He therefore privately married Anna Bullen, whom he had created marchioness of Pembroke, the duke of Norfolk, the uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and doctor Cranmer being present at the ceremony. Soon after finding the queen pregnant, he publicly owned his marriage, and, to colour over his disobedience to the pope with an appearance of triumph, he passed with his beautiful bride through London, with a magnificence greater than had been ever known before. But though Henry had thus separated from the church, yet he had not addicted himself to the system of any other reformer. The mode of religion was not as yet known, and as the minds of those who were of opposite sentiments were extremely exasperated, it naturally followed that several must fall a sacrifice in the contest between ancient establishments and modern reformation.

As the monks had shewn him the greatest resistance, he resolved at once to deprive them of



future power. He accordingly empowered Thomas Cromwell, now secretary of state, to send commissioners into the several counties of England to inspect the monasteries; and to report, with rigorous exactness, the conduct and deportment of such as were resident there. This employment was readily undertaken by some creatures of the court, namely, Layton, London, Price, Cage, Petre, and Belasis, who are said to have discovered monstrous disorders in many of the religious houses. Whole convents of women abandoned to all manner of lewdness, friars accomplices in their crimes, pious frauds every where practised to increase the devotion and liberality of the people, and cruel and inveterate factions maintained between the members of many of these institutions. These accusations, whether true or false, were urged with great clamour against these communities, and a general horror was excited in the nation against them.

A new visitation was soon after appointed, and fresh crimes were also  
A. D. 1536. produced; so that his severities were conducted with such seeming justice and success, that in less than two years he became possessed of all the monastic revenues. These, on the whole, amounted to six hundred and forty-five, of which twenty-eight had abbots, who enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels, and a hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds, which was about a twentieth part of the national income.



But as great murmurs were excited by some upon this occasion, Henry took care that all those who could be useful to him, or even dangerous in cases of opposition, should be sharers in the spoil. He either made a gift of the revenues of the convents to his principal courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms.

Henry's opinions were at length delivered in a law, which, from its horrid consequences, was afterwards termed the Bloody Statute, by which it was ordained, that whoever, by word or writing, denied transubstantiation, or maintained that the communion in both kinds was necessary, or asserted that it was lawful for priests to marry, or alledged that vows of chastity might be broken, or maintained that private masses were unprofitable, or that auricular confession was unnecessary, should be found guilty of heresy, and burned or hanged as the court should determine. As the people were at that time chiefly composed of those who followed the opinions of Luther, and such as still adhered to the pope, this statute, with Henry's former decrees, in some measure excluded both, and opened a field for persecution, which soon after produced its dreadful harvests. Bainham and Bilney were burned for their opposition to popery, and bishop Fisher was beheaded for denying the king's supremacy; and his execution was a prelude to that of Sir Thomas More, a man of inflexible integrity, whom no motives could seduce, and no honours corrupt. The most unjustifiable means were employed to effect his destruction, and an ambiguous answer of his, relating to the king's supre-



macy, was considered as high treason. He was condemned and beheaded on the sixth of July, 1535, in the fifty-third year of his age. His character will bear the ablest support, if we except an unalterable attachment to the popish religion, all was firm, consistent, and manly.

These severities, however, were preceded by one of a different nature, arising merely from tyrannical caprice. Anna Bullen, his queen, had been always a favourer of the reformation, and consequently had many enemies on that account, who only waited some fit occasion to destroy her credit with the king; and that occasion presented itself but too soon. The king's passion was by this time quite palled by satiety; and he now languished for the possession of Jane Seymour, who had for some time been maid of honour to the queen.

In the mean time her enemies were not remiss in raising an accusation against her. The duke of Norfolk, from his attachment to the old religion, took care to produce several witnesses, accusing her of incontinency with some of the meaner servants of the court. Four persons were particularly pointed out as her paramours; Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, together with Mark Smeton, a musician. Accordingly, soon after, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried in Westminster-hall, when Smeton, was prevailed upon, by the promise of a pardon, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen, but he was never confronted by her he accused; and his execution with the rest, shortly after, served to acquit her of the charge. Norris, who had been much in the king's favour,



had an offer of his life, if he would confess his crime and accuse his mistress; but he rejected the proposal with contempt, and died professing her innocence and his own.

The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers; but upon what proof or pretence the crime of incest was urged against them is unknown; the chief evidence, it is said, amounted to no more, than that Rochford had been seen to lean on her bed before some company. Part of the charge against her was, that she had declared to her attendants, that the king never had her heart; which was considered as a slander upon the throne, and strained into a breach of a late statute, by which it was declared criminal to throw any slander upon the king, queen, or their issue. The unhappy queen, though unassisted by counsel, defended herself with great judgment and presence of mind, and the spectators could not forbear declaring her intirely innocent. She answered distinctly to all the charges brought against her, but the king's authority was not to be controuled; she was declared guilty, and her sentence ran that she should be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. On the morning of her execution, her sentence being mitigated into beheading, she sent for Kingstone, the keeper of the Tower, to whom, upon entering the prison she said, « Mr. Kingstone, I hear I am not to die till noon, and I am sorry for it; for I thought to be dead before this time, and free from a life of pain. » The keeper attempting to comfort her by assuring her the pain would be very little she replied, « I have heard the executioner is very expert; and ( clasping her neck with her hands



laughing ) I have but a little neck.» When brought to the scaffold, from a consideration of her child Elisabeth's welfare, she would not inflame the minds of the spectators against her prosecutors but contented herself with saying, « that she was come to die as she was sentenced by the law. » She would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged; she prayed heartily for the king, and called him « a most merciful and gentle prince: that he had always been to her a good and gracious sovereign, and that if any one should think proper to canvass her cause, she desired him to judge the best. » She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was brought over, being much more expert than any in England. The very next day after her execution, he married the lady Jane Seymour, his cruel heart being no way softened by the wretched fate of one who had been so lately the object of his warmest affections. He also ordered his parliament to give him a divorce between her sentence and execution; and thus he endeavoured to bastardize Elizabeth, the only child he had by her, as he had in the same manner formerly bastardized Mary, his only child by queen Catherine.

In the midst of these commotions, the fires of Smithfield were seen to blaze with  
 unusual fierceness. Those who had adhered to the pope, or those who followed the doctrines of Luther, were equally the objects of royal vengeance and ecclesiastical persecution. From the multiplied alterations which were made in the national systems of belief, mostly drawn up by Henry himself, few knew what to think or what to profess. They were ready enough, indeed, to

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follow his doctrines, how inconsistent or contradictory soever; but as he was continually changing them himself, they could hardly pursue so fast as he advanced before them. Thomas Cromwell, raised by the king's caprice from being a blacksmith's son to be a royal favourite, together with Cranmer, now become archbishop of Canterbury, both favoured the reformation with all their endeavours. On the other hand Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, together with the duke of Norfolk, were against it. Henry submitted to neither; and thought himself entitled to regulate by his own single opinion, the religious faith of the whole nation.

Soon after, no less than five hundred persons were imprisoned for contradicting the opinions delivered in the bloody statute; and received protection only from the lenity of Cromwell. Lambert, a schoolmaster, and doctor Barnes, who had been instrumental in Lambert's execution, felt the severity of the persecuting spirit, and by a bill in parliament, without any trial, were condemned to the flames, discussing theological questions at the very stakes. With Barnes were executed one Gerard, and Jerome, for the same opinions. Three Catholics also, whose names were Abel, Featherstone, and Powel, were dragged upon the same hurdles to execution; and declared, that the most grievous part of their punishment, was the being coupled with such heretical miscreants as were united in the same calamity.

During these horrid transactions, Henry was resolved to take another queen, Jane Seymour having died in childbed; and contracted a marriage with Anne of Cleves, his aim being by her means, to fortify his alliances with the princes of Germany.



He hated her, however, the moment he saw her; and resolved to get rid of her and his prime minister together. He had a strong cause of dislike to him for this alliance, and a new motive was soon added. Henry had fixed his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and the only method of gratifying this new passion was, as in former cases, discarding the present queen to make room for a new one. The duke of Norfolk had long been Cromwell's mortal enemy, and eagerly embraced this opportunity to destroy a man he considered as his rival. He, therefore, made use of all his niece's arts to ruin the favourite; and when his project was ripe for execution, he obtained a commission from the king, to arrest Cromwell for high treason. His disgrace was no sooner known, than all his friends forsook him, except Cranmer, who wrote such a letter to Henry in his behalf, as no other man in the kingdom would have presumed to offer. However, he was accused in parliament of heresy and treason: and without being ever heard in his own defence, condemned to suffer the pains of death as the king should think proper to direct. When he was brought to the scaffold, his regard for his son hindered him from expatiating upon his own innocence; he thanked God for bringing him to that death for his transgressions, confessed he had often been seduced, but that he now died in the catholic faith.

Henry thought himself very happy in his new marriage, and was so captivated with the queen's accomplishments, that he gave public thanks for his felicity, but that was of very short duration. While he was at York, upon an intended conference with



the king of Scotland, a man of the name of Lassels waited upon Cranmer at London; and gave a very surprizing account of the queen's incontinence. When the queen was first examined relative to her crime, she denied the charge; but afterwards finding that her accomplices were her accusers, she confessed her incontinence before marriage, but denied her having dishonoured the king's bed since their union. Three maids of honour, who were admitted to her secrets, still further confirmed her guilt; and the servile parliament quickly found her guilty, and petitioned the king that she might be punished with death; that the same penalty might be inflicted on the lady Rochford, the accomplice in her debaucheries; and on her grandmother, the duchess dowager of Norfolk, together with her father, mother, and nine others, men and women, who were privy to the queen's irregularities. With this petition the king was most graciously pleased to agree; they were condemned to death by an act of attainder, which at the same time made it capital for all persons to conceal their knowledge of the debaucheries of any future queen. It was also enacted, that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason, in case she did not previously reveal her guilt. The people made merry with this absurd and brutal statute; and it was said, that the king must henceforth look out for a widow. After all these laws were passed, the queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with the lady Rochford, who found no great degree of compassion, as she had before tampered in blood.

In about a year after the death of the last queen,



Henry once more changed his condition by marrying his sixth and last wife, A. D. Catherine Parr, who, according to 1543. the ridiculous suggestions of the people, was, in fact, a widow. She was the wife of the late lord Latimer, and was considered as a woman of discretion and virtue. She had already passed the meridian of life, and managed this capricious tyrant's temper with prudence and success.

Still, however, the king's severity to his subjects continued as fierce as ever. For some time he had been incommoded by an ulcer in his leg; the pain of which, added to his corpulence, and other infirmities, increased his natural irascibility to such a degree, that scarce any of his domestics approached him without terror. It was not to be expected, therefore, that any who differed from him in opinion, should, at this time particularly, hope for pardon. Though his health was declining apace, yet his implacable cruelties were not the less frequent. His resentments were diffused indiscriminately to all: at one time a protestant, and at another a catholic, each was the object of his severity. The duke of Norfolk, and his son, the earl of Surry, were the last who felt the injustice of the tyrant's groundless suspicions. The duke was a nobleman who had served the king with talents and fidelity; his son was a young man of the most promising hopes, who excelled in all the military exercises which were then in request; he encouraged the fine arts by his practice and example; and was among the first who brought our language, in poetry, to any degree of refinement. He celebrated the fair Geraldina in some of his sonnets,



and maintained her superior beauty in all places of public contention. He had, however, dropt some expressions of resentment against the king's ministers upon being displaced from the government of Boulogne; and the whole family was become obnoxious from the late incontinency of Catherine Howard, the queen, who was executed. From these motives, therefore, private orders were given to arrest the father and son; and accordingly they were arrested both on the same day, and confined to the Tower. Surry being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious. The duchess dowager of Richmond, Surry's own sister, was among the number of his accusers; and Sir Richard Southwell also, his most intimate friend, charged him with infidelity to the king. Surry denied this, and challenged his accuser to single combat. This favour was refused him, and it was alledged that he had quartered the arms of Edward the confessor on his escutcheon, which alone was sufficient to convict him of aspiring to the crown. To this he could make no reply; and, indeed, any answer would have been needless; for parliament and juries, during this reign, seem to be guided only by the will of the crown. This young nobleman was, therefore, condemned for high treason, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence; and the sentence was soon after executed upon him on Tower-hill. In the mean time the duke endeavoured to mollify the king by letters and submissions: but the monster's hard heart was rarely subject to tender impressions. The parliament meeting on the fourteenth day of January, a bill of attainder was found against

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1546.



the duke of Norfolk; as it was thought he could not so easily have been convicted on a fair hearing by his peers. The death warrant was made out, and immediately sent to the lieutenant of the Tower. The duke prepared for death; the following morning was to be his last; but an event of greater consequence to the kingdom intervened, and prevented his execution.

The king had been for some time approaching fast towards his end; and all those about his person plainly saw that his speedy death was inevitable. The disorder in his leg was now grown extremely painful: and this, added to his monstrous corpulency, which rendered him unable to stir, made him more furious than a chained lion. He had been ever stern and severe; he was now outrageous. In this state he had continued for near four years before his death, the terror of all, and the tormentor of himself; his courtiers having no inclination to make an enemy of him, as they were more ardently employed in conspiring the death of each other. In this manner, therefore, he was suffered to struggle, without any of his domestics having the courage to warn him of his approaching end, as more than once during this reign persons had been executed for foretelling the death of the king. At last, Sir Anthony Denny had courage to disclose to him this dreadful secret; and, contrary to his usual custom, he received the tidings with an expression of resignation. His anguish and remorse were at this time greater than can be expressed; he desired that Cranmer might be sent for; but before that prelate could arrive, he was speechless. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of



Christ; he squeezed his hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

Some kings have been tyrants from contradiction and revolt; some from being misled by favourites; and some from a spirit of party: but Henry was cruel from a depraved disposition alone; cruel in government, cruel in religion, and cruel in his family.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

EDWARD VI.

A. D. 1546-1553.

**H**ENRY the eighth was succeeded on the throne by his only son Edward the sixth, now in the ninth year of his age. The late king in his will, fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of his eighteenth year; and in the mean time appointed sixteen executors of his will, to whom, during the minority, he entrusted the government of the king and kingdom, the duke of Somerset, as protector, being placed at their head.

The protector, in his schemes for advancing the reformation, had always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse to violent changes, and determined to bring over the people by insensible innovations. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by a council to frame a liturgy for the service of the church: and this work was exe-



cuted with great moderation, precision, and accuracy. A law was also enacted, permitting priests to marry; the ceremony of auricular confession, though not abolished, was left at the discretion of the people, who were not displeased at being freed from the spiritual tyranny of their instructors; the doctrine of the real presence was the last tenet of popery that was wholly abandoned by the people. However, at last, not only this, but all the principal opinions and practices of the Catholic religion, contrary to what the Scripture authorises, were abolished; and the reformation, such as we have it, was almost entirely completed in England.

With all these innovations the people  
A. D. and clergy in general acquiesced; and  
1549. Gardiner and Bonner being the only persons whose opposition was thought of any weight, were sent to the Tower, and threatened with the king's further displeasure in case of disobedience.

For all these acts the protector gained great applause and popularity; but his enemies were numerous in proportion to his exaltation. Of all the ministers of that time in the council, Dudley, earl of Warwick, was the most artful, ambitious, and unprincipled. Resolved, at any rate, to possess the principal place under the king, he cared not what means were to be used in acquiring it, and covered the most exorbitant views under the fairest appearances. Having associated himself with the earl of Southampton, he formed a strong party in the council, who were determined to free themselves from the controul the protector assumed over them. That nobleman was, in fact, now grown obnoxious



to a very prevailing party in the kingdom. He was hated by the nobles for his superior magnificence and power; he was hated by the catholic party for his regard to the reformation; he was disliked by many for his severity to his brother: besides the great estate he had raised at the expence of the church and the crown, rendered him obnoxious to all. The palace which he was then building in the Strand, served also by its magnificence, and still more by the unjust methods that were taken to raise it, to expose him to the censures of the public. The parish church of St. Mary, with three bishops' houses, were pulled down to furnish ground and materials for the structure.

He was soon afterwards sent to the Tower, and the chief article of which he was accused, was his usurpation of the government, and the taking all power into his own hands: and others of a slighter tint were added, but none of them could be said to amount to high treason. In consequence of these, a bill of attainder was preferred against him in the house of lords; but Somerset contrived, for this time, to elude the rigour of their sentence, by having previously, on his knees, confessed the charge before the members of the council. In consequence of this confession, he was deprived of all his offices and goods, together with a great part of his landed estate, which was forfeited to the use of the crown. This fine on his estate was soon after remitted by the king, and Somerset once more, contrary to the expectation of all, recovered his liberty. He was even readmitted into the council; happy for him if his ambition had not revived with his security.

In fact, he could not help now and then bursting



out into invectives against the king and government, which were quickly carried to his secret enemy the earl of Warwick, who was now become duke of Northumberland. As he was surrounded with that nobleman's creatures, they took care to reveal all the designs which they had themselves first suggested; and Somerset soon found the fatal effects of his rival's resentment. He was, by Northumberland's command, arrested with many more accused of being his partizans; and was, with his wife, the duchess, thrown into prison. He was now accused of having formed a design to raise an insurrection in the North; of attacking the train bands on a muster-day; of plotting to secure the Tower, and to excite a rebellion in London. These charges he strenuously denied; but he confessed that he had laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet, which was to be given them by lord Paget. He was soon after brought to a trial before the Marquis of Winchester, who sat as high steward on the occasion, with twenty-seven peers more, including Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, who were at once his judges and accusers; and being found guilty, brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, where he appeared without the least emotion, in the midst of a vast concourse of the populace, by whom he was beloved. He spoke to them with great composure, protesting that he had always promoted the service of the king, and the interests of true religion, to the best of his power. The people attested their belief of what he said, by crying out, « It is most true. » An universal tumult was beginning to take place, but Somerset desiring them



to be still , and not interrupt his last meditations , but to join with him in prayer , he laid down his head , and submitted to the stroke of the executioner.

In the mean-time , Northumberland had long aimed at the first authority ; and the infirm state of the king's health opened alluring prospects to his ambition. He represented to that young prince , that his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth , who were appointed by Henry's will to succeed , in failure of direct heirs to the crown , had been both declared illegitimate by parliament : that the queen of Scots , his aunt , stood excluded by the king's will , and being an alien , also , lost all right of succeeding ; and as the three princesses were thus legally excluded , the succession naturally devolved to the marchioness of Dorset , whose next heir was the lady Jane Grey , a lady every way accomplished for government , as well by the charms of her person as the virtues and acquirements of her mind. The king , who had long submitted to all the politic views of this designing minister , agreed to have the succession submitted to council , where Northumberland had influence soon after to procure an easy concurrence.

In the mean-time , as the king's health declined , his first aim was to secure the interests of the marquis of Dorset , father of lady Jane Grey , by procuring for him the title of duke of Suffolk , which was lately become extinct. Having thus obliged this nobleman , he then proposed a match between his fourth son lord Guildford Dudley , and the lady Jane Grey , whose interests he had been at so much pains to advance , and he married his own daughter to lord Hastings with all possible pomp and fes-



tivity. Mean-while, Edward continued to languish; and several fatal symptoms of a consumption began to appear, and it was remarked by some, that his health was visibly seen to decline, from the time that the Dudleys were brought about his person. The character of Northumberland might have justly given some colour to suspicion; and his moving all, except his own emissaries, from about the king, still farther increased the distrusts of the people. Northumberland, however, was no way uneasy at their murmurs: he was assiduous in his attendance upon the king, and professed the most anxious concern for his safety; but still drove forward his darling scheme of transferring the succession to his own daughter-in-law.

The young king was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who very confidently undertook his cure. After the use of her medicines, all the bad symptoms increased to a most violent degree; he felt a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse failed, his legs swelled, his colour became livid, and many other symptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at Greenwich, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign, greatly regretted by all, as his early virtues gave a prospect of the continuance of a happy reign.

July 6,  
1553.



## CHAPTER XXV.

MARY.

A. D. 1553-1558.

UPON the death of Edward, two candidates put in their pretensions to the crown; Mary, Henry's daughter by Catharine of Arragon, relying on the justness of her cause; and lady Jane Grey, being nominated in the late young king's will, and upon the support of the duke of Northumberland, her father-in-law. Mary was strongly bigotted to the popish superstitions, having been bred up among churchmen, and having been even taught to prefer martyrdom to a denial of belief. As she had lived in continual restraint, she was reserved and gloomy: she had, even during the life of her father, the resolution to maintain her sentiments, and refused to comply with his new institutions. Her zeal had rendered her furious. On the other hand, Jane Grey was strongly attached to the reformers; and though yet but sixteen, her judgment had attained to such a degree of maturity, as few have been found to possess. All historians agree, that the solidity of her understanding improved by continual application, rendered her the wonder of the age. But she was in a great measure ignorant of all the transactions in her favour, and was struck with equal grief and surprise when she received intelligence of them. She shed a flood of tears, appeared inconsolable, and it was not without the



utmost difficulty that she yielded to the entreaties of Northumberland, and the duke her father. Orders were given, also, for proclaiming her throughout the kingdom; but these were but very remissly obeyed, and very coolly received.

In the mean-time, Mary, who had retired, upon the news of the king's death, to Kenning-hall, in Norfolk, sent circular letters to all the great towns and nobility in the kingdom, reminding them of her right, and commanding them to proclaim her without delay, and in a little time she was at the head of forty thousand men; while the few who attended Northumberland, continued so irresolute, that he feared to lead them to the encounter.

Lady Jane, thus finding that all was lost, resigned her royalty, which she had held but ten days, with marks of real satisfaction, and retired with her mother to their own habitation. Northumberland also, who found that it was impossible to stem the tide of popular opposition, attempted to quit the kingdom; but he was prevented by the band of pensioner guards, who informed him that he must stay to justify their conduct in being led out against their lawful sovereign. Thus circumvented on all sides, he delivered himself up to Mary, and was soon afterwards executed in a summary way. Sentence was also pronounced against lady Jane and lord Guildford, but without any intention, for the present, of putting it in execution.

Mary now entered London, and with very little effusion of blood, saw herself joyfully proclaimed, and peaceably settled on the throne. This was a flattering prospect, but Mary was morose, and a bigot; she was resolved to give back their former



power to the clergy; and thus once more to involve the kingdom in all the horrors it had just emerged from. The bishops Gardiner, Tonsal, Day, Heath, and Vesey, who had been confined, or suffered losses for their catholic opinions during the late reigns, were taken from prison, reinstated in their sees, and their former sentences repealed. A parliament, which the queen called soon after, at one blow repealed all the statutes with regard to religion which had passed during the reign of her predecessors; so that the national religion was again placed on the same footing on which it stood at the death of Henry the eighth.

While religion was thus turning to its primitive abuses, the queen's ministers, who were willing to strengthen her power by a catholic alliance, had been some time looking out for a proper consort; and pitched upon Philip, prince of Spain, son of the celebrated Charles the fifth. In order to avoid any disagreeable remonstrances from the people, the articles of marriage were drawn as favourable as possible to the interests and honour of England; and this in some measure stilled their clamours; yet their discontents rose to the pitch of an insurrection, headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt; who being made prisoner, was condemned and executed with some of his adherents.

But what most excited the compassion of the people was the execution of lady Jane Grey, and her husband lord Guildford Dudley, who were involved in the punishment, though not in the guilt of this insurrection. Two days after Wyatt was apprehended, lady Jane and her husband were ordered to prepare for death. Lady Jane no way surprised at



the message, bore it with heroic resolution; and being informed that she had three days to prepare, seemed displeased at so long a delay. On the day of her execution, her husband desired permission to see her; but this she refused, as she knew parting would be too tender for her fortitude to withstand. The place at first designed for their execution was without the Tower; but their beauty, youth, and innocence, being likely to raise an insurrection, orders were given that they should be executed within the Tower. Lord Dudley was the first who suffered; and while the lady Jane was conducting to the place of execution, she was met by the officers of the Tower bearing along the headless body of her husband streaming with blood, in order, to be interred in the Tower chapel. She looked on the corpse for some time without any emotion; and then, with a sigh, desired them to proceed. On the scaffold she made a speech, in which she alledged, that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with sufficient constancy; that she had less erred through ambition than filial obedience; and she willingly accepted death as the only atonement she could make to the injured state; and was ready by her punishment to shew, that innocence is no plea in excuse for deeds that tend to injure the community. After speaking to this effect, she caused herself to be disrobed by her woman, and, with a steady, serene countenance, submitted to the executioner.

At the head of those who drove these violent measures forward, were Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and cardinal Pole, who was now returned from Italy. Pole, who was nearly allied to the royal



family, had always conscientiously adhered to the catholic religion, and had incurred Henry's displeasure, not only by refusing to assent to his measures, but by writing against him. It was for this adherence that he was cherished by the pope, and now sent over to England as legate from the holy see. Gardiner was a man of a very different character; his chief aim was to please the reigning prince; and he had shewn already many instances of his prudent conformity. A persecution, therefore, began by the martyrdom of Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's. They were examined by commissioners appointed by the queen, with the chancellor at the head of them.

Saunders and Taylor, two other clergymen, whose zeal had been distinguished in carrying on the reformation, were the next who suffered. Bonner, bishop of London, bloated without restraint; and seemed to take a pleasure in the pains of the unhappy sufferers; while the queen, by her letters, exhorted him to pursue the pious work without pity or interruption. Soon after, in obedience to her commands, Ridley, bishop of London, and the venerable Latimer, bishop of Worcester, were condemned together. Ridley had been one of the ablest champions for the reformation; his piety, learning, and solidity of judgment, were admired by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. The night before his execution, he invited the mayor of Oxford and his wife to see him; and when he beheld them melted in tears, he himself appeared quite unmoved, inwardly supported and comforted in that hour of agony. When he was brought to the stake to be burnt, he found his old friend Latimer there before



him. Of all the prelates of that age, Latimer was the most remarkable for his unaffected piety, and the simplicity of his manners. He had never learned to flatter in courts; and his open rebuke was dreaded by the great. His sermons, which remain to this day, shew that he had much learning, and much wit; and there is an air of sincerity running through them, not to be found elsewhere. When Ridley began to comfort his ancient friend, Latimer on his part, was as ready to return the kind office. « Be of good cheer, brother, » cried he, « we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished. » A furious bigot ascended to preach to them and the people, while the fire was preparing: and Ridley gave a most serious attention to his discourse. No way distracted by the preparations about him, he heard him to the last; and then told him, that he was ready to answer all that he had preached upon, if he were permitted a short indulgence: but this was refused him. At length fire was set to the pile; Latimer was soon out of pain, but Ridley continued to suffer much longer, his legs being consumed before the fire reached his vitals.

Archbishop Cranmer's death followed soon after, and struck the whole nation with horror. His love of life had formerly prevailed. In an unguarded moment he was induced to sign a paper condemning the reformation; and now his enemies, as we are told of the devil, after having rendered him completely wretched, resolved to destroy him. Being led to the stake, and the fire beginning to be kindled round him, he stretched forth his right hand, and held it in the flames till it was consumed, while he frequently cried out, in the midst of his sufferings,



« That unworthy hand ! » at the same time exhibiting no appearance of pain or disorder. When the fire attacked his body he seemed to be quite insensible of his tortures ; his mind was occupied wholly upon the hopes of a future reward. After his body was destroyed, his heart was found entire ; an emblem of the constancy with which he suffered.

It was computed, that during this persecution, two hundred and seventy-seven persons suffered by fire, besides those punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire, were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, fifty-five women, and four children. All this was terrible : and yet the temporal affairs of the kingdom did not seem to be more successful.

Calais, that had now for above two  
 A. D. hundred years been in the possession  
 1557. of the English, was attacked, and by  
 a sudden, unexpected assault, being  
 blocked up on every side, was obliged to capitulate ; so that in less than eight days the duke of Guise recovered a city that had been in possession of the English since the time of Edward the third, and which he had spent eleven months in besieging. This loss filled the whole kingdom with murmurs, and the queen with despair : she was heard to say, that when dead, the name of Calais would be found engraven on her heart.

These complicated evils, a murmuring people, an increasing heresy, a disdainful husband and an unsuccessful war, made dreadful depredations on Mary's constitution. She began to appear consump-



tive, and this rendered her mind still more morose and bigotted. The people now, therefore, began to turn their thoughts to her successor and the princess Elizabeth come into a greater degree of consideration than before.

Mary had long been in a very declining state of health; and having mistaken her dropsy for a pregnancy, she made use of an improper regimen, which had increased the disorder. Every reflection now tormented her. The consciousness of being despised by her subjects, and the prospects of Elizabeth's succession, whom she hated; all these preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which she died, after a short and unfortunate reign of five years, four months, and eleven days, in the forty-third year of her age.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

ELIZABETH.

A. D. 1558-1602.

Nothing could exceed the joy that was diffused among the people upon the accession of Elizabeth, who now came to the throne without any opposition. This favourite of the people, from the beginning, resolved upon reforming the church, even while she remained in the constraints of a prison; and now upon coming to the crown, she immediately set about it. A parliament soon after completed what the prerogative had begun; act after act was passed in favour of the reformation:



and, in a single session, that form of religion was established which we at present have the happiness to enjoy.

A state of permanent felicity is not to be expected here : and Mary Stuart, commonly called Mary queen of Scots, was the first person who excited the fears or the resentment of Elizabeth. Henry the seventh had married his eldest daughter, Margaret, to James, king of Scotland, who dying left no issue that came to maturity, except Mary, afterwards surnamed queen of Scots. At a very early age this princess, possessed of every accomplishment of person and mind, was married to Francis the dauphin of France, who dying, left her a widow at the age of nineteen. Upon the death of Francis, Mary, the widow, still seemed disposed to keep up the title ; but finding herself exposed to the persecution of the dowager queen, who now began to take the lead in France, she returned home to Scotland, where she found the people strongly impressed with the reforming principles of the times. A difference in religion between the sovereign and the people is ever productive of bad effects. Mary could not but regard the manners of the reformed clergy, who now bore sway among the Scots, with a mixture of ridicule and hatred ; while they looked on the gaities and levities which she introduced, with abhorrence and resentment. Their mutual jealousy every day grew stronger ; the clergy waited only for some indiscretion in the queen to fly out into open opposition ; which she soon gave them.

Mary, upon her return, had married the earl of Darnley ; a weak and ignorant man ; violent,



yet variable in his enterprizes ; insolent, yet credulous, and easily governed by flatterers. She soon, therefore, began to convert her admiration into disgust ; and Darnley, enraged at her increasing coldness, pointed his vengeance against every person he supposed the cause of this change in her sentiments and behaviour. There was then in the court one David Rizzio, the son of a musician at Turin, himself a musician, whom Mary took into her confidence. She consulted him on all occasions ; no favours could be obtained but by his intercession, and all suitors were first obliged to gain Rizzio to their interests, by presents or by flattery. It was easy to persuade a man of Darnley's jealous temper, that Rizzio was the person who had estranged the queen's affections from him. He soon, therefore, consulted some of the lords of his party, who accompanying him into the queen's apartment, where Rizzio then was, dragged him into the antichamber, where he was dispatched with fifty-six wounds ; the unhappy princess continuing her lamentations, while they were perpetrating their horrid intent. Being informed, however, of his fate, Mary at once dried her tears, and said she would weep no more, for she would now think of revenge.

She therefore concealed her resentment, and so far imposed upon Darnley her husband, that he put himself under her protection, and soon after attended her to Edinburgh, where he was told the place would be favourable to his declining health. Mary lived in the palace of Holyrood-house ; but as the situation of that place was low, and the concourse of persons about the court might disturb



him in his present infirm state, she fitted up an apartment for him in a solitary house at some distance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary there gave him marks of kindness and attachment; she conversed cordially with him, and she lay some nights in a room under him. It was on the ninth of February that she told him she would pass that night in the palace, because the marriage of one of her servants was to be there celebrated in her presence. But about two o'clock in the morning the whole city was much alarmed at hearing a great noise; the house in which Darnley lay was blown up with gunpowder. His dead body was found at some distance in a neighbouring field, but without any marks of violence or contusion. No doubt could be entertained but that Darnley was murdered; and the general suspicion fell upon Bothwell, a person lately taken into Mary's favour, who, though accused of being stained with the husband's blood, and universally odious to the people, had the boldness, while Mary was on her way to Stirling, on a visit to her son, to seize her at the head of a body of eight hundred horse, and to carry her to Dunbar, where he forced her to yield to his purposes. It was then thought by the people that the measure of his crimes was complete; and that he who was supposed to kill the queen's husband, and to have offered violence to her person, could expect no mercy; but they were astonished upon finding, instead of disgrace, that Bothwell was taken into more than former favour; and, to crown all, that he was married to Mary, having divorced his own wife to procure this union.

This was a fatal alliance to Mary; and the,



people were now wound up by the complication of her guilt, to pay very little deference to her authority. An association was formed that took Mary prisoner, and sent her into confinement to the castle of Lochleven, situated in a lake of that name, where she suffered all the severities of an unkind keeper, and an upbraiding conscience, with a feeling heart. Mary, however, by her charms and promises, engaged a young gentleman, one George Douglass, to assist her in escaping, and this he effected, by conveying her in disguise in a small boat rowed by himself a-shore. And the news of her enlargement being spread abroad, all the loyalty of the people seemed to revive, and in a few days she saw herself at the head of six thousand men. But a battle was fought at Langside, near Glasgow, which was entirely decisive against her, and now being totally ruined, she fled southwards from the field of battle with great precipitation, and came, with a few attendants, to the borders of England, where she A. D. hoped for protection from Elizabeth, but 1568. she, instead of protecting, ordered her to be put into confinement, treating her, however, with all proper marks of respect.

She was accordingly sent to Tutbury castle, in the county of Stafford, and put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury; where she had hopes given her of one day coming into favour, and that unless her own obstinacy prevented, an accommodation might at last take place. The duke of Norfolk was the only peer who enjoyed the highest title of nobility in England; and the qualities of his mind corresponded to his high station. Beneficent, affable,



and generous, he had acquired the affections of the people; and yet, from his moderation, he had never alarmed the jealousy of the sovereign. He was at this time a widower, and being of a suitable age to espouse the queen of Scots, her own attractions, as well as his interests, made him desirous of the match. Elizabeth, however, dreaded such an union, and the duke was soon after made prisoner and sent to the Tower. Upon his releasement from thence, new projects were set on foot by the enemies of the queen and the reformed religion, secretly fomented by Rodolphi, an instrument in the court of Rome, and the bishop of Ross, Mary's minister in England. It was concerted by them that Norfolk should renew his designs upon Mary, and raise her to the throne, to which it is probable he was prompted by passion as well as interest; and this nobleman entering into their schemes, he, from being at first only ambitious, now became criminal. His servants were brought to make a full confession of their master's guilt; and the bishop of Ross, soon after, finding the whole discovered, did not scruple to confirm their testimony. The duke was instantly committed to the Tower, and ordered to prepare for his trial. A jury of twenty-five peers unanimously passed sentence upon him; and the queen, four months after, reluctantly signed the warrant for his execution. He died with great calmness and constancy, and though he cleared himself of any disloyal intentions against the queen's authority, he acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered.

These conspiracies served to prepare the way for Mary's ruin, whose great misfortunes proceed



ded rather from the violence of her friends, than the malignity of her enemies. Elizabeth's ministers had long been waiting for some signal instance of the captive queen's enmity, which they could easily convert into treason; and this was

A. D. not long wanting. About this time one

1586. John Ballard, a popish priest who had been bred in the English seminary at

Rheims, resolved to compass the death of the queen, whom he considered as the enemy of his religion; and with that gloomy resolution came over to England in the disguise of a soldier, with the assumed name of Captain Fortescue. He bent his endeavours to bring about at once the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion. The first person he addressed himself to, was Anthony Babington of Dethick, in the county of Derby, a young gentleman of good family, and possessed of a very plentiful fortune. This person had long been remarkable for his zeal in the catholic cause, and in particular for his attachment to the captive queen. He therefore came readily into the plot, and procured the concurrence and assistance of some other associates in this dangerous undertaking. The next step was, to apprise Mary of the conspiracy formed in her favour, and this they effected, by conveying their letters to her by means of a brewer, who supplied the family with ale, through a chink in the wall of her apartment. In these Babington informed her of a design laid for a foreign invasion, the plan of an insurrection at home, the scheme for her delivery, and the conspiracy for assassinating the usurper by six noble gentlemen, as he termed them;



all of them his private friends, who, from the zeal which they bore the catholic cause and her majesty's service, would undertake the tragical execution. To these Mary replied, that she approved highly of the design, that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it should be ever in her power to confer, and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, previous to any further attempts, either for her delivery, or the intended insurrection.

The plot being thus ripe for execution, and the evidence against the conspirators incontestible, Walsingham, who was privately informed of all, resolved to suspend their punishment no longer. A warrant was accordingly issued out for the apprehending of Babington, and the rest of the conspirators, who endeavoured to keep themselves concealed. But they were soon discovered, thrown into prison, and brought to trial. Fourteen were condemned and executed, seven of whom died acknowledging their crime.

The execution of these wretched men only prepared the way for one of still greater importance, in which a captive queen was to submit to the unjust decisions of those who had no right, but that of power, to condemn her. Accordingly a commission was issued to forty peers, with five judges, or the major part of them, to try and pass sentence upon Mary, daughter and heir of James the fifth, king of Scotland, commonly called queen of Scots, and dowager of France.

Thirty-six of these commissioners arriving at the castle of Fotheringay, presented her with a letter from Elizabeth

Nov. 11.

1586.



commanding her to submit to a trial for her late conspiracy. The principal charge against her was urged by Serjeant Gaudy, who accused her with knowing, approving, and consenting to Babington's conspiracy. This charge was supported by Babington's confession, and by the copies which were taken of their correspondence, in which her approbation of the queen's murder was expressly declared.

Whatever might have been this queen's offences, it is certain that her treatment was very severe. She desired to be put in possession of such notes as she had taken preparative to her trial; but this was refused her. She demanded a copy of her protest; but her request was not complied with; she even solicited an advocate to plead her cause against so many learned lawyers as had undertaken to urge her accusations, but all her demands were rejected; and, after an adjournment of some days, sentence of death was pronounced against her in the Star-chamber, in Westminster, all the commissioners except two being present.

Whether Elizabeth was really sincere in her apparent reluctance to execute Mary is doubtful. Certainly there were great arts used by the courtiers to determine her to the side of severity; as they had every thing to fear from the resentment of Mary, in case she ever succeeded to the throne. Accordingly, the kingdom was now filled with rumours of plots, treasons, and insurrections; and the queen was continually kept in alarm by fictitious dangers. She, therefore, appeared to be in great terror and perplexity; she was observed to sit much alone, and to mutter to herself half sentences, importing the diffi-



culty and distress to which she was reduced. In this situation, she one day called her secretary, Davison, whom she ordered to draw out secretly the warrant for Mary's execution, informing him, that she intended to keep it by her, in case any attempt should be made for the delivery of that princess. She signed the warrant, and then commanded it to be carried to the chancellor to have the seal affixed to it. Next morning, however, she sent two gentlemen successively to desire that Davison would not go to the chancellor, until she should see him; but Davison telling her that the warrant had been already sealed, she seemed displeased at his precipitation. Davison, who, probably wished himself to see the sentence executed, laid the affair before the council, who unanimously resolved that the warrant should be immediately put into execution, and promised to justify Davison to the queen. Accordingly the fatal instrument was delivered to Beale, who summoned the noblemen to whom it was directed, namely, the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Kent, and Cumberland, and these together set out for Fotheringay-castle, accompanied by two executioners.

Mary, on their arrival, was ordered to prepare for death by eight o'clock next morning, when she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, which she had reserved for this solemn occasion. Thomas Andrews, the undersheriff of the county, then informed her, that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied, that she was ready; and bidding her servants farewell, she proceeded, supported by two of her guards, and followed the sheriff with a serene, composed aspect, with a long veil



of linen on her head, and in her hand a crucifix of ivory.

She then passed into another hall, the noblemen and the sheriff going before, and Melvil, her master of the household, bearing up her train, where was a scaffold erected and covered with black. As soon as she was seated, Beale began to read the warrant for her execution. Then Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, standing without the rails, repeated a long exhortation, which she desired him to forbear, as she was firmly resolved to die in the catholic religion. The room was crowded with spectators who beheld her with pity and distress, while her beauty, though dimmed by age and affliction, gleamed through her sufferings, and was still remarkable in this fatal moment. The two executioners kneeling, and asking her pardon, she said she forgave them, and all the authors of her death, as freely as she hoped forgiveness from her Maker, and then once more made a solemn protestation of her innocence. Her eyes were then covered with a linen handkerchief, and she laid herself down without any fear or trepidation. Then reciting a psalm, and repeating a pious ejaculation, her head was severed from her body at two strokes, by the executioner. In contemplating the contentions of mankind, we find almost ever both sides culpable; Mary, who was stained with crimes that deserved punishment, was put to death by a princess who had no just pretensions to inflict punishment on her equal.

In the mean time Philip, king of Spain, who had long meditated the destruction of England, now began to put his projects into execution. The perpetual object of his schemes was to support the



catholic religion, and exterminate the reformation. The revolt of his subjects in the Netherlands still more inflamed his resentment against the English, as they had encouraged and assisted the revolters. He had, therefore, for some time, been making preparations to attack England by a powerful invasion, and now every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments, and every art was used to levy supplies. The marquis of Santa Croce, a sea officer of great reputation and experience, was destined to command the fleet, which consisted of a hundred and thirty vessels of a greater size than any that had been hitherto seen in Europe. The duke of Parma was to conduct the land forces, twenty thousand of whom were on board the fleet, and thirty-four thousand more were assembled in the Netherlands, ready to be transported into England; no doubt being entertained of this fleet's success, it was ostentatiously stiled the Invincible Armada.

Nothing could exceed the terror and consternation which all ranks of people felt in England upon news of this terrible Armada being under sail to invade them. — A fleet of not above thirty ships of war, and those very small in comparison, was all that was to oppose it by sea; and as for resisting by land, that was supposed to be impossible, as the Spanish army was composed of men well disciplined, and long inured to danger; but although the English fleet was much inferior in number and size of shipping to that of the enemy, yet it was much more manageable, the dexterity, and courage of the mariners being greatly superior. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of great courage and capacity, as lord Admiral, took on him the command of the navy,



Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him; while a small squadron, consisting of forty vessels, English and Flemish, commanded by lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma. This was the preparation made by the English, while all the protestant powers of Europe regarded this enterprise as the critical event which was to decide for ever the fate of their religion.

In the mean time, while the Spanish Armada was preparing to sail, the admiral Santa Croce died, as likewise the vice-admiral Paliano; and the command of the expedition was given to the duke de Medina Sidonia, a person utterly inexperienced in sea affairs. But some other accidents also contributed to their failure. Upon leaving the port of Lisbon, the Armada next day met with a violent tempest, which sunk some of the smallest of their shipping, and obliged the fleet to put back into harbour. After some time spent in refitting, they again put to sea; where they took a fisherman, who gave them the intelligence that the English fleet, hearing of the dispersion of the Armada in a storm, was retired back to Plymouth harbour, and most of the mariners discharged. From this false intelligence, the Spanish Admiral, instead of going directly to the coast of Flanders, to take in the troops stationed there, as he had been instructed, resolved to sail to Plymouth, and destroy the shipping laid up in that harbour. But Effingham, the English admiral, was very well prepared to receive them; he was just got out of port when he saw the Spanish Armada coming in full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a half moon, and stretching seven miles from one extremity to the other.



However, the English admiral, seconded by Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, attacked the Armada at a distance, pouring in their broadsides with admirable dexterity. They did not chuse to engage the enemy more closely, because they were greatly inferior in the number of ships, guns, and weight of metal: nor could they pretend to board such lofty ships without manifest disadvantage. However, two Spanish galleons were disabled and taken. As the Armada advanced up the channel, the English still followed and infested their rear; and their fleet continually increasing from different ports, they soon found themselves in a capacity to attack the Spanish fleet more nearly; and accordingly fell upon them, while they were taking shelter in the port of Calais. To increase their confusion, Howard took eight of his smaller ships, and filling them with combustible materials, sent them, as if they had been fire ships, one after the other, into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards taking them for what they seemed to be, immediately took flight in great disorder; while the English, profiting by their panic, took or destroyed about twelve of the enemy.

This was a fatal blow to Spain: the duke de Medina Sidonia being thus driven to the coast of Zealand, held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that as their ammunition began to fail, as their ships had received great damage, and the duke of Parma had refused to venture his army under their protection, they should return to Spain by sailing round the Orkneys, as the winds were contrary to his passage directly back. Accordingly, they proceeded northward, and were followed by the English fleet as far as Flamborough-head,



where they were terribly shattered by a storm. Seventeen of the ships, having five thousand men on board, were afterwards cast away on the western isles, and the coast of Ireland. Of the whole Armada, three and fifty ships only returned to Spain in a miserable condition; and the seamen as well as soldiers who remained, only served, by their accounts, to intimidate their countrymen from attempting to renew so dangerous an expedition.

From being invaded, the English in their turn, attacked the Spaniards. Of those who made the most signal figure in the depredations upon Spain, was the young earl of Essex, a nobleman of great bravery, generosity, and genius; and fitted, not only for the foremost ranks in war by his valour, but to conduct the intrigues of a court by his eloquence and address. In all the masques which were then performed, the earl and Elizabeth were generally coupled as partners; and although she was almost sixty, and he not half so old, yet the world told her that she was young, and she was willing to think so. This young earl's interests in the queen's affections, as may naturally be supposed, promoted his interests in the state; and he conducted all things at his discretion. But young and inexperienced as he was, he at length began to fancy that the popularity he possessed, and the flatteries he received, were given to his merits, and not to his favour. In a debate before the queen, between him and Burleigh, about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument that he entirely forgot the duties of civility. He turned his back on the queen in a contemptuous



manner, which so provoked her resentment, that she instantly gave him a box on the ear. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword, and swore he would not bear such usage even from her father; but even this was overlooked by the queen, who re-instated him in her former favour, and her partiality seemed to have acquired new force from that short interruption of anger and resentment. The death also of his rival, lord Burleigh, which happened shortly after, seemed to confirm his power. At that time the earl of Tyrone headed the rebellious natives of Ireland; who, not yet thoroughly brought into subjection to the English, took every opportunity to make incursions upon the more civilized inhabitants, and slew all they were able to overpower. To subdue these was an employment that Essex thought worthy of his ambition; nor were his enemies displeased at thus removing a man from court, where he obstructed all their private aims of preferment. But it ended in his ruin.

Instead of attacking the enemy in their grand retreat in Ulster, he led his forces into the province of Munster, where he only exhausted his strength, and lost his opportunity against a people who submitted at his approach, but took up arms again when he retired. This issue of an enterprize, from which much was expected, provoked the queen most sensibly; and her anger was still more heightened by the peevish and impatient letters, which he daily wrote to her and the council. But her resentment against him was still more justly let loose, when she found, that without any per-



mission demanded or obtained, he had returned from Ireland to make his complaints to herself in person.

Though Elizabeth was justly offended, yet he soon won upon her temper to pardon him. He was ordered to continue a prisoner in his own house till the queen's further pleasure should be known, and it is probable that the discretion of a few months might have re-instated him in all his former employments; but the impetuosity of his character would not suffer him to wait for a slow redress of what he considered as wrongs, and the queen's refusing his request to continue him in the possession of a lucrative monopoly of sweet wines, which he had long enjoyed, spurred him to the most violent and guilty measures. Having long built on his great popularity, he began to hope, from the assistance of the giddy multitude, that revenge upon his enemies in the council, which he supposed was denied him from the throne. His greatest dependence was upon the professions of the citizens of London, whose schemes of religion and government he appeared entirely to approve; and while he gratified the puritans by railing at the government of the church, he pleased the envious, by exposing the faults of those in power. Among other criminal projects, the result of blind rage and despair, it was resolved that Sir Christopher Blount, one of his creatures, should, with a choice detachment, possess himself of the palace gates; that Sir John Davis should seize the hall, Sir Charles Davers the guard-chamber, while Essex himself should rush in from the Mews, attended

A. D.

1600.



by a body of his partizans , into the queen's presence, intreat her to remove his and her enemies, to assemble a new parliament , and to correct the defects of the present administration.

While Essex was deliberating upon the manner he should proceed, he received a private note , by which he was warned to provide for his own safety. He now , therefore , consulted with his friends touching the emergency of their situation ; they were destitute of arms and ammunition , while the guards at the palace were doubled , so that any attack there would be fruitless. While he and his confidents were in consultation , a person , probably employed by his enemies , came in as a messenger from the citizens , with tenders of friendship and assistance against all his adversaries. Wild as the project was of raising the city in the present terrible conjuncture , it was resolved on , but the execution of it was delayed till the day following.

Early in the morning of the next day , he was attended by his friends , the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Sandes, Parker, and Mounteagle , with three hundred persons of distinction. The doors of Essex-house were immediately locked , to prevent all strangers from entering ; and the earl now discovered his scheme for raising the city more fully to all the conspirators. In the mean-time , Sir Walter Raleigh sending a message to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, this officer had a conference with him in a boat on the Thames , and there discovered all their proceedings. The earl of Essex, who now saw that all was to be hazarded , resolved to leave his house , and to sally



forth to make an insurrection in the city. But he had made a very wrong estimate in expecting that popularity alone would aid him in time of danger; he issued out with about two hundred followers, armed only with swords; and in his passage to the city he was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwell. As he passed through the streets, he cried aloud, « For the queen ! for the queen ! a plot is laid for my life ! » hoping to engage the populace to rise ; but they had received orders from the mayor to keep within their houses, so that he was not joined by a single person. In this manner, attended by a few of his followers, the rest having privately retired, he made towards the river ; and taking a boat, arrived once more at Essex-house, where he began to make preparations for his defence. But his case was too desperate for any remedy from valour ; wherefore, after demanding in vain for hostages and conditions from his besiegers, he surrendered at discretion requesting only civil treatment, and a fair and impartial hearing.

Essex and Southampton were immediately carried to the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, from whence they were next day conveyed to the Tower, and tried by their peers on the nineteenth of February following. Little could be urged in their defence ; their guilt was too flagrant, and could not meet an acquittal. Essex, after condemnation, was visited by that religious horror which seemed to attend him in all his disgraces. He was terrified by the remonstrances of his chaplain ; and made a full confession of his conspiracy. It is said that he had strong hopes of pardon from the irreso-



lution which the queen seemed to discover before she signed the warrant for his execution. She had given him formerly a ring, which she desired him to send her in any emergency of this nature, and that it should procure his safety and protection. This ring was actually sent her by the countess of Nottingham, who, being a concealed enemy to the unfortunate earl, never delivered it; while Elizabeth was secretly fired at his obstinacy in making no application for mercy and forgiveness. The fact is, she appeared herself as much an object of pity, as the unfortunate nobleman she was induced to condemn. She signed the warrant for his execution, she countermanded it, she again resolved on his death, and again felt a new return of tenderness. At last she gave her consent to the execution, and was never seen to enjoy one happy day more.

With the death of her favourite Essex, all Elizabeth's pleasures seemed to expire; she afterwards went through the business of the state merely from habit, but her distress was more than sufficient to destroy the remains of her constitution; and her end was now visibly seen to approach. Her voice soon after left her; she fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours, and she expired gently without a groan, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign. Her character differed with her circumstances; in the beginning she was moderate and humble; towards the end of her reign, haughty and severe. Though she was possessed of excellent sense, yet she never had the discernment to discover that she wanted beauty; and to flatter her



charms at the age of sixty-five was the surest road to her favour and esteem.

But whatever were her personal defects as a queen, she is ever to be remembered by the English with gratitude. It is true, indeed, that she carried her prerogative in parliament to its highest pitch; so that it was tacitly allowed in that assembly, that she was above all laws, and could make and unmake them at her pleasure; yet still she was so wise and good, as seldom to exert that power which she claimed, and to enforce few acts of her prerogative, which were not for the benefit of her people. It is true, also, that the English during her reign were put in possession of no new or splendid acquisitions: but commerce was daily growing up among them, and the people began to find that the theatre of their truest conquests was to be on the bosom of the ocean. A nation which hitherto had been the object of every invasion, and a prey to every plunderer, now asserted its strength in turn, and became terrible to its invaders. The successful voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese began to excite their emulation; and they planned several expeditions for discovering a shorter passage to the East Indies. The famous Sir Walter Raleigh, without any assistance from government, colonized New England, while internal commerce was making equal improvements; and many Flemings, persecuted in their native country, found together with their arts, and industry, an easy asylum in England. Thus the whole island seemed as if roused from her long habits of barbarity; arts, commerce, and legislation began to acquire new strength every day; and such was the state of



learning at that time, that some fix that period as the Augustan age of England. Sir Walter Raleigh and Hooker are considered as among the first improvers of our language. Spenser and Shakspeare are too well known as poets to be praised here: but of all mankind, Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, who flourished in this reign, deserves, as a philosopher, the highest applause; his style is copious and correct, and his wit is only surpassed by his learning and penetration. If we look through history, and consider the rise of kingdoms, we shall scarce find an instance of a people becoming, in so short a time, wise, powerful, and happy. Liberty, it is true, still continued to fluctuate; Elizabeth knew her own power, and stretched it to the very verge of despotism; but now that commerce was introduced, liberty soon after followed; for there never was a nation perfectly commercial, that submitted long to slavery.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

JAMES I.

A. D. 1602-1625.

**J**AMES, the sixth of Scotland, and the first of England, the son of Mary, came to the throne with the universal approbation of all orders of the state, as in his person was united every claim that either descent, bequest, or parliamentary sanction could confer. Yet in the very beginning of his reign a conspiracy was set on foot, which is



said to be begun by lord Grey, lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who were all condemned to die, but had their sentence mitigated by the king. Cobham and Grey were pardoned after that they had laid their heads on the block. Raleigh was reprieved, but remained in confinement many years afterwards, and at last suffered for this offence, which was never proved.

Mild as this monarch was in toleration, here was a project contrived in the very beginning of his reign for the re-establishment of popery, which, were it not a fact known to all the world, could scarcely be credited by posterity. This was the gunpowder plot, than which a more horrid or terrible scheme never entered into the human heart. The Roman catholics had expected great favour and indulgence on the accession of James, both as a descendant of Mary, a rigid catholic, and also as having shewn some partiality to that religion in his youth; but they soon discovered their mistake, and were at once surprised and enraged to find James on all occasions express his resolution of strictly executing the laws enacted against them, and in persevering in the conduct of his predecessor. This declaration determined them to destroy the king and both houses of parliament at a blow. The scheme was first broached by Robert Catesby, a gentleman of good parts and ancient family, who conceived that a train of gunpowder might be so placed under the parliament-house, as to blow up the king and all the members at once.

How horrid soever the contrivance might appear, yet every member seemed faithful and secret



in the league; and about two months before the sitting of parliament, they hired a house in the name of Percy, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to assemble. Their first intention was to bore a way under the parliament-house, from that which they occupied, and they set themselves laboriously to the task; but when they had pierced the wall, which was three yards in thickness, on approaching the other side, they were surprised to find that the house was vaulted underneath, and that a magazine of coals was usually deposited there. From their disappointment on this account they were soon relieved by information, that the coals were then selling off, and that the vaults would be let to the highest bidder. They therefore seized the opportunity of hiring the place, and bought the remaining quantity of coals with which it was then stored, as if for their own use. The next thing done was to convey thither thirty-six barrels of gun-powder, which had been purchased in Holland; and the whole was covered with the coals and with faggots brought for that purpose. Then the doors of the cellar were boldly thrown open, and every body admitted as if it contained nothing dangerous.

Confident of success, they now began to plan the remaining part of their project. The king, the queen, and prince Henry, the king's eldest son, were all expected to be present at the opening of the parliament. The king's second son, by reason of his tender age, would be absent, and it was resolved that Percy should seize or assassinate him. The princess Elizabeth, a child likewise, was kept at lord Harrington's house in Warwickshire; and



Sir Everard Digby was to seize her, and immediately proclaim her queen.

The day for the sitting of parliament now approached. Never was treason more secret, or ruin more apparently inevitable; the hour was expected with impatience, and the conspirators gloried in their meditated guilt. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept during the space of near a year and a half; yet when all the motives of pity, justice, and safety, were too weak, a remorse of private friendship saved the kingdom.

Sir Henry Percy, one of the conspirators, conceived a design of saving the life of lord Mounteagle, his intimate friend and companion, who also was of the same persuasion with himself. About ten days before the meeting of parliament, this nobleman, upon his return to town, received a letter from a person unknown, and delivered by one who fled as soon as he had discharged his message. The letter was to this effect: « My lord, stay away from this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of the times. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they will receive a terrible blow this parliament; and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be condemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm. For the danger is past as soon as you have burned the letter. »

The contents of this mysterious letter surprised and puzzled the nobleman to whom it was addres-



sed; and though inclined to think it a foolish attempt to affright and ridicule him, yet he judged it safest to carry it to lord Salisbury, secretary of state. Lord Salisbury too was inclined to give little attention to it, yet thought proper to lay it before the king in council, who came to town a few days after. None of the council were able to make any thing of it, although it appeared serious and alarming. In the universal agitation between doubt and apprehension; the king was the first who penetrated the meaning of this dark epistle. He concluded that some sudden danger was preparing by gun-powder; and it was thought advisable to inspect all the vaults below both houses of parliament. This care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord-chamberlain, who purposely delayed the search till the day before the meeting of parliament. He remarked those Nov. 5.  
great piles of faggots which lay in the 1605.  
vault under the house of peers, and seized a man preparing for the terrible enterprise, dressed in a cloak and boots, and a dark lanthorn in his hand. This was one Guy Fawkes, who had just disposed every part of the train for its taking fire the next morning, the matches and other combustibles being found in his pockets. The whole of the design was now discovered, but the atrociousness of his guilt, and the despair of pardon, inspiring him with resolution, he told the officers of justice, with an undaunted air, that had he blown them and himself up together he had been happy. Before the council he displayed the same intrepid firmness, mixed even with scorn and disdain, refusing to discover his associates, and shewing no concern but for the failure of his enterprise. But his



bold spirit was at length subdued ; being confined to the Tower for two or three days , and the rack just shewn him , his courage , fatigued with so long an effort , at last failed him , and he made a full discovery of all his accomplices.

Catesby , Percy , and the conspirators who were in London , hearing that Fawkes was arrested , fled with all speed to Warwickshire , where Sir Everard Digby , relying on the success of the plot , was already in arms. But the country soon began to take the alarm , and wherever they turned they found a superior force ready to oppose them. In this exigence , beset on all sides , they resolved , to about the number of eighty persons , to fly no farther , but make a stand at a house in Warwickshire , to defend it to the last , and sell their lives as dearly as possible. But even this miserable consolation was denied them : a spark of fire happening to fall amongst some gun-powder that was laid to dry , it blew up , and so maimed the principal conspirators , that the survivors resolved to open the gate , and sally out against the multitude that surrounded the house. Some were instantly cut to pieces ; Catesby , Percy , and Winter standing back to back , fought long and desperately , till in the end the two first fell covered with wounds , and Winter was taken alive. Those who survived the slaughter were tried and convicted ; several fell by the hands of the executioner , and others experienced the king's mercy. The jesuits , Garnet and Oldcorn , who were privy to the plot , suffered with the rest ; and notwithstanding the atrociousness of their treason , Garnet was considered by his party as a martyr , and miracles were said to have been wrought by his blood,



The sagacity with which the king first discovered the plot, raised the opinion of his wisdom among the people; but the folly with which he gave himself up to his favourites quickly undeceived the nation.

A. D.

1612.

In the first rank of these stood Robert Carre, a youth of a good family in Scotland, who after having passed some time in his travels, arrived in London, at about twenty years of age. All his natural accomplishments consisted in a pleasing visage; all his acquired abilities in an easy and graceful demeanour. This youth was soon considered as the most rising man at court; he was knighted, created viscount Rochester, honoured with the order of the garter, made a privy-counsellor, and, to raise him to the highest pitch of honour, he was at last created earl of Somerset. Some time after, however, being accused and convicted, from private motives, of poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower, he fell under the king's displeasure, and being driven from court, spent the remainder of his life in contempt and self-conviction.

But the king had not been so improvident as to part with one favourite until he had provided himself with another. This was George Villiers, a youth of one and twenty, a younger brother of a good family, who was returned about that time from his travels, and whom the enemies of Somerset had taken occasion to throw in the king's way, certain that his beauty and fashionable manners would do the rest. Accordingly he had been placed at a comedy full in the king's view, and immediately caught the monarch's affections to such a degree, that in the course of a few years he crea-



ted him viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, master of the horse, chief justice in Eyre, warden of the cinque ports, master of the king's bench office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral of England.

The universal murmur which these foolish attachments produced, was soon after heightened by an act of severity, which still continues as the blackest stain upon this monarch's memory. The brave and learned Raleigh had been confined in the Tower almost from the very beginning of James's accession, for a conspiracy which had never been proved against him; and in that abode of wretchedness he wrote several valuable performances, which are still in the highest esteem. His long sufferings, and his ingenious writings, had now turned the tide of popular opinion in his favour; and they who once detested the enemy of Essex, could not now help pitying the long captivity of this philosophical soldier. He himself still struggled for freedom; and perhaps it was with this desire that he spread the report of his having discovered a gold mine in Guiana, which was sufficient to enrich, not only the adventurers who should seize it, but afford immense treasures to the nation. The king, either believing his assertions, or willing to subject him to further disgrace, granted him a commission to try his fortune in quest of these golden schemes: but still reserved his former sentence as a check upon his future behaviour.

Raleigh was not long in making preparation for this adventure, which, from the sanguine manner in which he carried it on, many believe he thought



to be as promising as he described it. He bent his course to Guiana, and remaining himself at the mouth of the river Oroonoko, with five of the largest ships, he sent the rest up the stream, under the command of his son and of captain Keymis, a person entirely devoted to his interest. But instead of a country abounding in gold, as the adventurers were taught to expect, they found the Spaniards had been warned of their approach, and were prepared in arms to receive them. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out that, « That was the true mine, » meaning the town of St. Thomas, which he was approaching; « and that none but fools looked for any other, » but just as he was speaking, he received a shot, of which he immediately expired. This was followed by another disappointment, for when the English took possession of the town, they found nothing in it of any value.

Raleigh, in this forlorn situation, found now that all his hopes were over; and saw his misfortunes still farther aggravated by the reproaches of those whom he had undertaken to command. Nothing could be more deplorable than his situation, particularly when he was told that he must be carried back to England to answer for his conduct to the king. It is pretended that he employed many artifices, first to engage them to attack the Spanish settlements at a time of peace; and, failing of that, to make his escape into France. But all those proving unsuccessful, he was delivered into the king's hands, and strictly examined, as well as his fellow-adventurers, before the privy-council. Count Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador, made heavy complaints against the expedition; and the king declared that



Raleigh had express orders to avoid all disputes and hostilities against the Spaniards. Wherefore, to give the court of Spain a particular instance of his attachment, he signed the warrant for his execution, not for the present offence, but for his former conspiracy. This great man died with the same fortitude that he had testified through life: he observed, as he felt the edge of the ax, that it was a sharp but a sure remedy for all evils; his harangue to the people was calm and eloquent; and he laid his head down on the block with the utmost indifference.

But there soon appeared very apparent reasons for James's partiality to the court of Spain. This monarch had entertained an opinion, that in marrying his son Charles, the prince of Wales, any alliance below that of royalty would be unworthy of him; he therefore was obliged to seek, either in the court of France or Spain, a suitable match, and he was taught to think of the latter. Gondemar, who was ambassador from that court, made an offer of the second daughter of Spain to prince Charles, and gave hopes of an immense fortune which should attend the princess. However, this was a negociation that was not likely soon to be ended; and five years elapsed without bringing the treaty to any kind of conclusion. This delay was very displeasing to the king, nor was it less disagreeable to prince Charles, who, bred up with ideas of romantic passion, was in love without ever seeing the object of his affections. A project now entered the head of Villiers, who had for some years ruled the king with absolute authority, that was fitter to be conceived by the knight of a ro-



mance , than by a minister and a statesman. It was projected that the prince should himself travel in disguise into Spain , and visit the princess of that country in person. Buckingham , who wanted to ingratiate himself with the prince , offered to be his companion ; and the king gave his consent. Their adventures on this strange project would fill novels ; and have actually been made the subject of many. Charles was the knight - errant , and Buckingham was the 'squire. The match however broke off , for what reasons historians do not assign ; but if we may credit the novelists of that time , the prince had already fixed his affections upon the daughter of Henry IV. of France , whom he married shortly after.

It may easily be supposed that these mismanagements were seen and felt by the people. The house of commons was by this time become quite unmanageable ; the prodigality of James to his favourites had made his necessities so many , that he was contented to sell the different branches of his prerogative to the commons , one after the other , to procure supplies. In proportion as they perceived his wants , they found out new grievances ; and every grant of money was sure to come with a petition for redress. The struggles between him and his parliament had been growing more and more violent every session ; and the very last advanced their pretensions to such a degree , that he began to take the alarm ; but the evils fell upon the successor , which the weakness of this monarch had created.

These domestic troubles were attended by others still more important in Germany ; and which pro-



duced in the end the most dangerous effects. The king's eldest daughter had been married to Frederick, the elector palatine of Germany: and this prince revolting against the emperor Ferdinand the second, was defeated in a decisive battle, and obliged to take refuge in Holland. His affinity to the English crown, his misfortunes, but particularly the protestant religion, for which he had contended, were strong motives for the people of England to wish well to his cause; and frequent addresses were sent from the commons to spur up James to take a part in the German contest, and to replace the exiled prince upon the throne of his ancestors. James

A. D. at first attempted to ward off the mis-  
1620. fortunes of his son-in-law by negotiations; but these proving utterly ineffectual, it was resolved at last to rescue the palatinate from the emperor by force of arms. Accordingly, war was declared against Spain and the emperor; six thousand men were sent over into Holland, to assist prince Maurice in his schemes against those powers: the people were every where elated at the courage of their king, and were satisfied with any war against the papists. This army was followed by another consisting of twelve thousand men, commanded by count Mansfeldt; and the court of France promised its assistance. But the English were disappointed in all their views: the troops being embarked at Dover, upon sailing to Calais, they found no orders for their admission. After waiting in vain for some time, they were obliged to sail towards Zealand, where no proper measures were yet concerted for their disembarkation. Mean-while, a pestilential distemper crept in among the forces,



so long cooped up in narrow vessels; half the army died while on board, and the other half, weakened by sickness, appeared too small a body to march into the palatinate, and thus ended this ill-concerted and fruitless expedition.

Whether this misfortune had any effect upon James's constitution is uncertain; but he was soon after seized with a tertian ague, which  
 A. D. 1625. when his courtiers assured him from the proverb that it was health for a king, he replied that the proverb was meant for a young king. After some fits he found himself extremely weakened, and sent for the prince, whom he exhorted to persevere in the protestant religion: then preparing with decency and courage to meet his end, he expired, after a reign over England of twenty-two years, and in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

CHARLES I.

A. D. 1625-1648.

Few princes ever ascended a throne with more apparent advantages than Charles; and none ever encountered more real difficulties. Indeed he undertook the reins of government with a fixed persuasion that his popularity was sufficient to carry every measure. He had been loaded with a treaty for defending the prince Palatine, his brother-in-law, in the late reign, and the war declared for that



purpose was to be carried on with vigour in this. But war was more easily declared than supplies granted. After some reluctance the commons voted him two subsidies : a sum far from being sufficient to support him in his intended equipment. To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles had recourse to some of the ancient methods of extortion practised by sovereigns when in necessitous circumstances. That kind of tax called a benevolence was ordered to be exacted, and privy seals were issued accordingly. With this the people were obliged, though reluctantly, to comply; as it was in fact authorised by many precedents.

After an ineffectual expedition to Cadiz, another attempt was made to obtain supplies in a more regular and constitutional manner than before. Another parliament was accordingly called; and though some steps were taken to exclude the more popular leaders of the last house of commons, by nominating them as sheriffs of counties, yet the present parliament seemed more refractory than the former. When the king laid before the house his necessities, and asked for a supply, they voted him only three subsidies, which amounted to about an hundred and sixty thousand pounds; a sum no way adequate. In order, therefore, to gain a sufficient supply, a commission was openly granted to compound with the catholics, and agree for a dispensation of the penal laws against them. He borrowed a sum of money from the nobility, whose contributions came in but slowly. But the greatest stretch of his power was in the levying of ship-money. In order to equip a fleet, each of the maritime towns was required, with the assistance of the



adjacent counties, to arm as many vessels as were appointed them. The city of London was rated at twenty ships. This was the commencement of a tax, which afterwards was carried to violent lengths.

War being soon after declared against France, a fleet was sent out, under the command of Buckingham, to relieve Rochelle, a maritime town in that kingdom, that had long enjoyed its privileges independent of the French king; but that had for some years embraced the reformed religion, and now was besieged with a formidable army. The duke's measures, however, were so ill concerted, that the inhabitants of the city shut their gates, and refused to admit allies of whose coming they were not previously informed. Instead of attacking the island of Oleron, which was fertile and defenceless, he bent his course to the isle of Rhé which was garrisoned, and well fortified. He attempted there to starve out the garrison of St. Martin's castle, which was plentifully supplied with provisions by sea. By that time the French had landed their forces privately at another part of the island; so that Buckingham was at last obliged to retreat, but with such precipitation, that two-thirds of his army were cut in pieces before he could reimbark, though he was the last man of the whole army who quitted the shore. This proof of his personal courage, however, was but a small consolation for the disgrace which his country had sustained.

The contest between the king and the commons every day grew warmer. The officers of the custom-house were summoned before the commons, to give an account by what authority they seized the



goods of the merchants, who had refused to pay the duty of tonnage and poundage, which they alledged was levied without the sanction of a law. The barons of the Exchequer were questioned concerning their decrees on that head; and the sheriff of London was committed to the Tower for his activity in supporting the custom-house officers. The commons went still farther by a resolution to examine into religious grievances, and a new spirit of intolerance began to appear. The king,

therefore, resolved to dissolve a parliament which he found himself unable to manage; and Sir John Finch, the speaker, just as the question concerning tonnage and poundage was going to be put, rose up, and informed the house that he had a command from the king to adjourn.

The house upon this was in an uproar; the speaker was pushed back into his chair, and forcibly held in it by Hollis and Valentine, till a short remonstrance was framed, and passed by acclamation rather than vote. In this hasty production, Papists and Arminians were declared capital enemies to the state. Tonnage and poundage were condemned as contrary to law; and not only those who raised that duty, but those who paid it, were considered as guilty of capital crimes. In consequence of this violent procedure, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Hayman, Selden, Coriton, Long, and Strode, were, by the king's orders, committed to prison, under pretence of sedition. But the same temerity that impelled Charles to imprison them, induced him to grant them a release. Sir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine, were summoned before the King's



Bench ; but they refusing to appear before an inferior tribunal, for faults committed in a superior, they were condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to pay a fine, the two former a thousand pounds each, and the latter of five hundred, and to find sureties for their good behaviour. The members triumphed in their sufferings, while they had the whole kingdom as spectators and applauders of their fortitude.

In the mean-time, while the king was thus distressed by the obstinacy of the commons, he felt a much severer blow by the death of his favourite, the duke of Buckingham, who fell a sacrifice to his unpopularity. It had been resolved once more to undertake the raising of the siege of Rochelle : and the earl of Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, was sent thither, but returned without effecting any thing. In order to repair this disgrace, the duke of Buckingham went in person to Portsmouth to hurry on another expedition, and to punish such as had endeavoured to defraud the crown of the legal assessments. In the general discontent that prevailed against this nobleman, it was daily expected that some severe measures would be resolved on ; and he was stigmatized as the tyrant and the betrayer of his country. There was one Felton, who caught the general contagion ; an Irishman of a good family, who had served under the duke as lieutenant, but had resigned, on being refused his rank on the death of his captain who had been killed at the isle of Rhé. This man was naturally melancholy, courageous, and enthusiastic ; he felt for his country, as if labouring under a calamity which he thought it in the power of his sin-



gle arm to remove. He therefore resolved to kill the duke, and thus revenge his own private injuries, while he did service also to God and man. Animated in this manner with gloomy zeal and mistaken patriotism, he travelled down to Portsmouth alone, and entered the town while the duke was surrounded by his levee, and giving out the necessary orders for embarkation. While he was speaking to one of his colonels, Felton struck him over an officer's shoulder in the breast with his knife. The duke had only time to say, « The villain has killed me, » when he fell at the colonel's feet, and instantly expired. No one had seen the blow, nor the person who gave it; but a hat being picked up, on the inside of which was sewed a paper, containing four or five lines of the remonstrance of the commons against the duke, it was concluded that this hat must belong to the assassin; and while they were employed in conjectures whose it should be, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door, and was heard to cry out. I am he! He disdained denying a murder in which he gloried; and averred, that he looked upon the duke as an enemy to his country, and as such deserving to suffer. When asked at whose instigation he had perpetrated that horrid deed, he answered, that they need not trouble themselves in that inquiry; that his conscience was his only prompter, and that no man on earth could dispose him to act against its dictates. He suffered with the same degree of constancy to the last; nor were there many wanting who admired not only his fortitude, but the action for which he suffered.

The king's first measure, now being left without



A. D. 1629. a minister and a parliament, was a prudent one. He made peace with the two crowns against whom he had hitherto waged war, which had been entered upon without necessity, and conducted without glory. Being freed from these embarrassments, he bent his whole attention to the management of the internal policy of the kingdom, and took two men as his associates in this task, who still acted an under part to himself. These were Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards created earl of Strafford; and Laud, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Laud, during this long interval, ruled the church; the king and Strafford undertook to manage the temporal interest of the nation; and a declaration was dispersed, implying, that during this reign no more parliaments would be summoned.

The tonnage and poundage were continued to be levied by royal authority alone; custom-house officers received orders from the council to enter any house whatever, in search of suspected goods; compositions were openly made with papists; and their religion was become a regular part of the revenue. The High-commission court of Star-chamber exercised its power, independent of any law, upon several bold innovators in liberty, who only gloried in their sufferings, and contributed to render government odious and contemptible. Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were tried before this tribunal for schismatical libels, in which they attacked, with great severity and intemperate zeal, the ceremonies of the church of England. They were condemned to be pilloried, to lose their



ears, and to pay five thousand pounds to the king.

In the mean-time the levying of *ship-money*, as it was called, was universally complained of as a national grievance. This was a tax which had in former reigns, been levied without the consent of parliament; but then the exigency of the state demanded such a supply. John Hampden, a gentleman of fortune in Buckinghamshire, refused to comply with the tax, and resolved to bring it to a legal determination. He had been rated at twenty shillings for his estate, which he refused to pay; and the case was argued twelve days in the Exchequer chamber, before all the judges of England. The nation regarded, with the utmost anxiety, the result of a trial that was to fix the limits of the king's power. All the judges, four only excepted, gave sentence in favour of the crown, while Hampden, who lost his cause, was recompensed by the applauses of the people.

The discontent and opposition which the king met with in maintaining episcopacy among his English subjects did not hinder him from attempting to introduce it among those of Scotland, where it was generally hateful. Having published an order for reading the liturgy in the principal church in Edinburgh, the people received it with clamours and imprecations. The seditious disposition in that kingdom, which had hitherto been kept within bounds, was now too furious for restraint, the insurrection became general over all the country, and the Scots flew to arms with great animosity.

Yet still the king could not think of desisting from his design; and so prepossessed was he in  
favour



favour of royal right, that he thought the very name of king, when forcibly urged, would induce them to return to their duty. Instead therefore of fighting with his opponents, he entered upon a treaty with them; so that a suspension of arms was soon agreed upon, and a treaty of peace concluded, which neither side intended to observe; and then both parties agreed to disband their forces. After much altercation, and many treaties signed and broken, both parties once more had recourse to arms; and war being thus resolved on, the king took every method as before for raising money to support it. Ship-money was levied as usual; some other arbitrary taxes were exacted from the reluctant people with great severity, but these were far from being sufficient; and there now remained only the long-neglected method of a parliamentary supply.

The new house of commons, however, could not be induced to treat the Scots, who were of the same principles with themselves, and contending against the same ceremonies, as enemies to the state. The king, therefore, could reap no other fruits from this assembly than murmurings and complaints. Every method he had taken to supply himself with money was declared an abuse, and a breach of the constitution. The king, therefore, once more dissolved the parliament, to try more feasible methods of removing his necessities.

His necessities, however, continuing, that parliament was called, which did not cease sitting till they overturned the constitution. Without any interval, they entered upon business; and by unanimous consent they struck a blow that might be regarded as decisive. Instead of granting the demanded



subsidies, they impeached the earl of Strafford, the king's first minister, and had him arraigned before the house of peers for high treason. After a long and eloquent speech, delivered without premeditation, in which he confuted all the accusations of his enemies, he was found guilty by both houses of parliament; and nothing remained but for the king to give his consent to the bill of attainder. Charles, who loved Strafford tenderly, hesitated, and seemed reluctant, trying every expedient to put off so dreadful a duty, as that of signing the warrant for his execution. While he continued in this agitation of mind, not knowing how to act, his doubts were at last silenced by an act of heroic bravery in the condemned lord. He received a letter from that unfortunate nobleman, desiring that his life might be made the sacrifice of a mutual reconciliation between the king and his people; adding, that he was prepared to die, and to a willing mind there could be no injury. This instance of noble generosity was but ill repaid by his master, who complied with his request. He consented to the signing the fatal bill by commission: Strafford was beheaded on Tower-hill, behaving with all that composed dignity of resolution that was expected from his character. The parliament fell next with great justice on two courts, which had been erected under arbitrary kings, and had seldom been employed but in cases of necessity, the High-commission court, and the court of Star-chamber. A bill unanimously passed the houses to abolish both; and in them to annihilate the principal and most dangerous articles in the king's prerogative.

In the midst of these troubles, the papists of Ireland fancied they found a convenient opportu-



nity of throwing off the English-yoke, and accordingly resolved to cut off all the protestants in the kingdom at a stroke; so that neither age, sex, nor condition, received any pity. Forty thousand protestants were supposed to have been killed in this massacre. In such indiscriminate slaughter, neither former benefits, nor alliances, nor authority, were any protection: numberless were the instances of friends murdering their intimates, relations their kinsmen, and servants their masters. In vain did flight save from the first assault; destruction, that had an extensive spread, met the haunted victim at every turn. The king took all the precautions in his power to shew his utter detestation of these bloody proceedings; and being sensible of his own inability to suppress the rebellion, had once more recourse to his English parliament, and craved their assistance for a supply. But here he found no hopes of assistance: many insinuations were thrown out, that he had himself fomented this rebellion, and no money could be spared for the extinction of distant dangers, when they pretended that the kingdom was threatened with greater at home.

It was now that the republican spirit began to appear, without any disguise, in the present parliament, and that party, instead of attacking the faults of the king, resolved to destroy monarchy. The leaders of the opposition began their operations by a resolution to attack episcopacy, which was one of the strongest bulwarks of the royal power. They accused thirteen bishops of high treason, for enacting canons without the consent of parliament;

A. D.

1641.



and endeavoured to prevail upon the house of peers to exclude all the prelates from their seats and votes in that august assembly. The bishops saw the storm that was gathering against them; and probably, to avert its effects, they resolved to attend their duty in the house of lords no longer.

This was a fatal blow to the royal interest: but it soon felt a much greater from the king's own imprudence, Charles had long suppressed his resentment, and only strove to satisfy the commons by the greatness of his concessions; but finding that all his compliance had but increased their demands, he could no longer retain it. He gave orders to Herbert, his attorney-general, to enter an accusation of high treason in the house of peers against lord Kimbolton, one of the most popular men of his party, together with five commoners, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Hollis, Hampden, Pym and Strode. The articles were, that they had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom; to deprive the king of his regal power; and to impose on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority. Men had scarce leisure to wonder at the precipitancy and imprudence of this impeachment, when they were astonished by another measure still more rash and unsupported. The next day the king himself was seen to enter the house of commons alone, advancing through the hall, while all the members stood up to receive him. The speaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took possession of it. Having seated himself and looked round him for some time, he told the house that he was sorry for the occasion that forced him thither, that he was come in per-



son, to seize the members, whom he had accused of high-treason, seeing they would not deliver them up to his serjeant at arms. He then sat for some time to see if the accused were present, but they had escaped a few minutes before his entry. Thus disappointed, perplexed, and not knowing on whom to rely, he next proceeded, amidst the clamours of the populace, who continued to cry out, « Privilege! privilege! » to the common-council of the city, and made his complaint to them. The common-council only answered his complaints with a contemptuous silence; and on his return, one of the populace, more insolent than the rest, cried out, « To your tents, O Israel! » a watch-word among the Jews when they intended to abandon their princes.

Being returned to Windsor, he began to reflect on the rashness of his former proceedings; and now, too late, resolved to make some atonement. He therefore wrote to the parliament, informing them, that he desisted from his former proceedings against the accused members: and assured them, that upon all occasions, he would be as careful of their privileges as of his life or his crown. Thus his former violence had rendered him hateful to his commons, and his present submission had now rendered him contemptible.

The power of appointing generals and levying armies was still a remaining prerogative of the crown. The commons having therefore first magnified their terrors of popery, which, perhaps, they actually dreaded, they proceeded to petition that the Tower might be put into their hands, and that Hull, Portsmouth, and the fleet, should be



entrusted to persons of their choosing. These were requests, the complying with which levelled all that remained of the ancient constitution; however, such was the necessity of the times, that they were at first contested, and then granted. At last, every compliance only increasing the avidity of making fresh demands, the commons desired to have a militia, raised and governed by such officers and commanders as they should nominate, under pretext of securing them from the Irish papists, of whom they were in great apprehensions.

It was here that Charles first ventured to put a stop to his concessions; and being urged to give up the command of the army for an appointed time, he was so exasperated, that he exclaimed, « No! not for an hour. » This peremptory refusal broke off all farther treaty, and both sides were now resolved to have recourse to arms.

A. D.

1642.

No period since England began could shew so many instances of courage, abilities, and virtue as the present fatal opposition called forth into exertion. Now was the time when talents of every kind, unchecked by authority, were called from the lower ranks of life to dispute for power and pre-eminence. Manifestoes on the one side and the other were now dispersed throughout the whole kingdom; and the people were universally divided between two factions, distinguished by the names of Cavaliers and Roundheads. The king's forces appeared in a very low condition; besides the train-bands of the country, raised by Sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not got together three hundred infantry. His cavalry, which composed



his chief strength, exceeded not eight hundred, and were very ill provided with arms. However, he was soon gradually reinforced from all quarters; but not being then in a condition to face his enemies, he thought it prudent to retire by slow marches to Derby, and thence to Shrewsbury, in order to countenance the levies which his friends were making in those quarters.

In the mean time, the parliament were not remiss in preparations on their side. They had a magazine of arms at Hull, and Sir John Hotham was appointed governor of that place by parliament. The forces also, which had been every where raised on pretence of the service of Ireland, were now more openly enlisted by the parliament for their own purposes, and the command given to the earl of Essex, a bold man, who rather desired to see monarchy abridged, than totally destroyed; and in London, no less than four thousand men were enlisted in one day.

Edge-hill was the first place where the two armies were put in array against each other, and the country drenched in civil slaughter. It was a dreadful sight, to see above thirty thousand of the bravest men in the world, instead of employing their courage abroad, turning it against each other, while the dearest friends, and nearest kinsmen, embraced opposite sides, and prepared to bury their private regards in factious hatred. After an engagement of some hours, animosity seemed to be wearied out, and both sides separated with equal loss. Five thousand men are said to have been found dead on the field of battle.

It would be tedious and no way instructive to



enter into marchings and counter-marchings of these undisciplined and ill-conducted armies; war was a new trade to English, as they had not seen an hostile engagement in the island for near a century before. The queen came to reinforce the royal party; she had brought soldiers and ammunition from Holland, and immediately departed to furnish more. But the parliament who knew its own consequence and strength, was no way discouraged. Their demands seemed to increase in proportion to their losses; and as they were repressed in the field, they grew more haughty in the cabinet. Such governors as gave up their fortresses to the king, were attainted of high treason. It was in vain for the king to send proposals after any success, this only raised their pride and their animosity. But though this desire in the king to make peace with his subjects was the highest encomium on his humanity, yet his long negotiations, one of which he carried on at Oxford, were faulty as a warrior. He wasted that time in altercation and treaty, which he could have employed in vigorous exertions in the field.

However, his first campaign, upon the whole, wore a favourable aspect. One victory followed after another; Cornwall was reduced to peace and obedience under the king; a victory was gained over the parliamentarians at Straton-hill, in Devonshire; another at Roundway-down, about two miles from the Devizes; and still a greater at Chalgrave-field. Bristol was besieged and taken, and Gloucester was invested; the battle of Newbury was favourable to the royal cause, and great hopes of success were formed from an army in the North, raised by the marquis of Newcastle.



In this first campaign the two bravest and greatest men of their respective parties were killed : John Hampden, and Lucius Cary, lord Falkland. The first in a skirmish against prince Rupert, the other in the battle of Newbury, which followed shortly after. Hampden, whom we have seen in the beginning of these troubles refuse to pay the ship-money, gained, by his inflexible integrity, the esteem even of his enemies. To these he added affability in conversation, temper, art, eloquence in debate, and penetration in council.

Falkland was still a greater loss, and a greater character. He added to Hampden's severe principles, a politeness and elegance, but then beginning to be known in England. He had boldly withstood the king's pretensions, while he saw him making a bad use of his power; but when he perceived the design of the parliament, to overturn the religion and the constitution of his country, he stedfastly attached himself to the crown. From the beginning of the civil war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity forsook him; he became melancholy, sad, pale, and negligent of his person, and seemed to wish for death. His usual cry among his friends, after a deep silence, and frequent sighs, was, « Peace! Peace!» He said upon the morning of the engagement, that he was weary of the times, and should leave them before night. He was shot by a musket-ball in the belly, and his body was next morning found among a heap of slain. His writings, his elegance, his justice, and his courage, deserved such a death of glory, and they found it.

The king, that he might make preparations during the winter for the ensuing campaign, and to oppose



the designs of the Westminster parliament, called one at Oxford; and this was the first time that England saw two parliaments sitting at the same time. His house of peers was pretty full; his house of commons consisted of about a hundred and forty, which amounted to not above half of the other house of commons. From this shadow of a parliament he received some supplies, after which it was prorogued, and never after assembled.

In the mean time the republican parliament passed an ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London and its neighbourhood to retrench a meal a week, and to pay the value of it for the support of the public cause. But what was much more effectual, the Scots, who considered their claims as similar, led a strong body to their assistance. They levied an army of fourteen thousand men in the East, under the earl of Manchester; they had an army of ten thousand men under Essex; another of nearly the same force under Sir William Waller. These were superior to any force the king could bring into the field; and were well appointed with ammunition, provisions, and pay.

A. D. Hostilities, which even during the  
1644. winter season had never been wholly discontinued, were renewed in the spring with their usual fury, and served to desolate the kingdom, without deciding victory. Each county joined that side to which it was addicted from motives of conviction, interest, or fear, though some observed a perfect neutrality. Several frequently petitioned for peace; and all the wise and good were in earnest in the cry. What particularly deserves remark, was an attempt of the women of London,



who, to the number of two or three thousand, went in a body to the house of commons, earnestly demanding a peace. « Give us those traitors, » said they, « who are against a peace ; give them, that we may tear them in pieces. » The guards found some difficulty in quelling this insurrection, and one or two women lost their lives in the fray.

The battle of Marston-moor was the beginning of the king's misfortunes and disgrace. The Scotch and parliamentary army had joined, and were besieging York ; when prince Rupert, joined by the marquis of Newcastle, determined to raise the siege. Both sides drew up on Marston-moor to the number of fifty thousand, and the victory seemed long undecided between them. Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the royalists, was opposed by Oliver Cromwell, who now first came into notice, at the head of a body of troops whom he had taken care to levy and discipline. Cromwell was victorious ; he pushed his opponents off the field, followed the vanquished, returned to a second engagement, and a second victory ; the prince's whole train of artillery was taken, and the royalists never after recovered the blow.

William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, was sent to the Tower in the beginning of this reign. He was now brought to his trial, condemned, and executed. The Liturgy was by a public act abolished the day he died, as if he had been the only obstacle to its former removal. The church of England was, in all respects, brought to a conformity to the puritanical establishment ; and the citizens of London, and the Scotch army, gave public thanks for so happy an alteration.



The battle, which decided the fate of Charles, was fought at Naseby, a village in Northamptonshire. The main body of the royal army was commanded by Lord Astley, prince Rupert led the right wing, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, and the king himself headed the body of reserve. On the opposite side Fairfax and Skippon commanded the main body; Cromwell led on the right wing, and Ireton, his son-in-law, the left. Prince Rupert attacked the left wing, with his usual impetuosity and success; they were broke and pursued as far as the village; but he lost time in attempting to make himself master of their artillery. Cromwell, in the mean time, was equally successful on his side, and broke through the enemy's horse after a very obstinate resistance. While these were thus engaged, the infantry on both sides maintained the conflict with equal ardour; but in spite of the efforts of Fairfax and Skippon, their battalions began to give way. At this critical period, Cromwell returned with his victorious forces, and charged the king's infantry in flank with such vigour, that a total rout began to ensue. By this time prince Rupert had rejoined the king, and the small body of reserve; but his troops though victorious, could not be brought to a second charge. The king perceiving the battle wholly lost, was obliged to abandon the field to his enemies, who took all his cannon, baggage, and above five thousand prisoners.

The battle of Naseby put the parliamentarians in possession of almost all the strong cities of the kingdom, Bristol, Bridgewater, Chester, Sherborne and Bath. Exeter was besieged; and all the king's troops in the western counties being entirely



dispersed, Fairfax pressed the place, and it surrendered at discretion. The king thus surrounded, harassed on every side, retreated to Oxford, that in all conditions of his fortune had held steady to his cause, and there he resolved to offer new terms to his incensed pursuers.

In the mean time, Fairfax was approaching with a powerful and victorious army, and was taking the proper measures for laying siege to Oxford which promised an easy surrender. To be taken captive, and led in triumph by his insolent subjects, was what Charles justly abhorred; and every insult and violence was to be dreaded from the soldiery. In this desperate extremity, he took the fatal resolution of giving himself up to the Scotch army, who had never testified implacable animosity against him; but he too soon found, that, instead of treating him as a king, they insulted him as a captive.

The English parliament being informed of the king's captivity, immediately entered into a treaty with the Scots about delivering up their prisoner. They agreed, that upon payment of four hundred thousand pounds they would deliver up the king to his enemies, and this was cheerfully complied with. An action so atrocious may be palliated, but can never be defended; they returned home laden with plunder, and the reproaches of all good men.

The civil war was now over; the king had absolved his followers from their allegiance, and the parliament had now no enemy to fear, except those very troops by which they had extended their overgrown authority. But in proportion as the terror of the king's power diminished, the divisions between the members which composed the parliament, be-



came more apparent. The majority in the house were of the presbyterian sect, who were for having clergy; but the majority of the army were staunch independents, who admitted of no clergy, but thought that every man had a right to instruct his fellows. At the head of this sect was Cromwell, who secretly directed its operations, and invigorated all their measures.

Oliver Cromwell, whose talents now began to appear in full lustre, was the son of a private gentleman in Huntingdon; but being the son of a second brother, he inherited a very small paternal fortune. From accident or intrigue, he was chosen member for the town of Cambridge, in the long parliament; but he seemed at first to possess no talents for oratory, his person being ungraceful, his dress slovenly, his elocution homely, tedious, obscure, and embarrassed. He made up, however, by zeal and perseverance, what he wanted in natural powers; and being endowed with unshaken intrepidity, much dissimulation, and a thorough conviction of the rectitude of his cause, he rose, through the gradations of preferment, to the post of lieutenant-general under Fairfax; but, in reality, possessing the supreme command over the whole army.

The army now began to consider themselves as a body distinct from the common-wealth; and complained that they had secured the general tranquillity, while they were deprived of the privileges of Englishmen: a military parliament was therefore formed, composed of the officers and common soldiers of each regiment. The principal officers formed a council to represent the body of peers, the soldiers elected two men out of each company to



represent the house of commons, and these were called the agitators of the army. Cromwell took care to be one of the number, and thus contrive an easy method under-hand of conducting and promoting the sedition of the army.

The unhappy king, in the mean time, continued a prisoner at Holmby-castle; and as his countenance might add some authority to that side who should obtain it; Cromwell, who secretly conducted all the measures of the army, while he apparently exclaimed against their violence, resolved to seize the king's person. Accordingly, a party of five hundred horse appearing at Holmby-castle, under the command of one Joyce, conducted the king to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous at Triplo-heath, near Cambridge. The next day Cromwell arrived among them, where he was received with acclamations of joy, and was instantly invested with the supreme command.

The house of commons was now divided into parties, as usual, one part opposing but the majority, with the two speakers at their head, for encouraging the army. In such an universal confusion, it is not to be expected that any thing less than a separation of the parties could take place; and accordingly the two speakers, with sixty-two members, secretly retired from the house, and threw themselves under the protection of the army that was then at Hounslow - heath. They were received with shouts and acclamations, their integrity was extolled, and the whole body of the soldiery, a formidable force of twenty thousand men, now moved forward to reinstate them in their former seats and stations.



In the mean time that part of the house that was left behind, resolved to act with vigour, and resist the encroachments of the army. They chose new speakers, they gave orders for enlisting troops, they ordered the train-bands to man the lines, and the whole city boldly resolved to resist the invasion. But this resolution only held while the enemy was thought at a distance; for when the formidable force of Cromwell appeared, all was obedience and submission; the gates were opened to the general, who attended the two speakers, and the rest of the members, peaceably to their habitations. The eleven impeached members, being accused as causers of the tumult, were expelled, and most of them retired to the continent. The mayor, sheriff, and three aldermen, were sent to the Tower; several citizens and officers of militia were committed to prison, and the lines about the city were levelled to the ground. The command of the Tower was given to Fairfax, the general; and the parliament ordered him their hearty thanks for having disobeyed their commands.

It now only remained to dispose of the king, who had been sent by the army a prisoner to Hampton-court; from whence he attempted to escape, but was once more made prisoner in the Isle of Wight, and confined in Carisbrook-castle. He still, however, continued to negotiate with the parliament for settling the unspeakable calamities of the kingdom, and the parliament saw no other method of destroying the military power, but to depress it by the kingly. Frequent proposals for an accommodation passed between the captive king and the commons. But it was now too late: for the rebellious army, crow-



ned with success, and, sensible of their power, with furious remonstrances, began to demand vengeance on the king. At the same time they advanced to Windsor: and sending an officer to seize the king's person, where he was lately sent under confinement, they conveyed him to Hurst-castle, in Hampshire, opposite the Isle of Wight. The commons, however, though destitute of all hopes of prevailing, had still courage to resist, and attempted, in the face of the whole army, to close their treaty with their king. But the next day colonel Pride, at the head of two regiments, blockaded the house, and seized in the passage forty-one members of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room belonging to the house, that passed by the denomination of Hell. Above a hundred and sixty members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and determined of the Independents, in all not exceeding sixty. This atrocious invasion of the parliamentary rights, commonly passed by the name of Pride's Purge, and the remaining members, were called the Rump. These soon voted, that the transactions of the house a few days before were entirely illegal, and that their general's conduct was just and necessary. A committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the king; and a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament. A High Court of Justice was accordingly appointed to try his majesty for this new invented treason.

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the king from Hurst-castle to Windsor, and from thence to London. His afflicted subjects, who ran to have a sight of their



sovereign, were greatly affected at the change that appeared in his face and person. He had allowed his beard to grow; his hair was become venerably grey, rather by the pressure of anxiety than the hand of time; while his apparel bore the marks of misfortune and decay. Thus he stood a solitary figure of majesty in distress, which even his adversaries could not behold without reverence and compassion. He had been long attended only by an old decrepit servant, whose name was Sir Philip Warwick, who could only deplore his master's fate without being able to revenge his cause. All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were now withdrawn; and his new attendants had orders to serve him without ceremony. The duke of Hamilton, who was reserved for the same punishment with his master, having leave to take a last farewell as he departed from Windsor, threw himself at the king's feet, crying out, « My dear Master. » The unhappy monarch raised him up, and embracing him tenderly, replied, while the tears ran down his cheeks, « I have, indeed, been a dear master to you. » These were severe distresses; however, he could not be persuaded that his adversaries would bring him to a formal trial; but he every moment expected to be dispatched by private assassination.

From the sixth to the twentieth of January was spent in making preparations for his extraordinary trial. The Court of Justice consisted of a hundred and thirty-three persons, named by the commons; but of these never above seventy met upon the trial. The members were chiefly composed of the principal officers of the army, most of them of very mean birth, together with some of the lower house,



and a few citizens of London. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president. Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England; Dorislaus, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants. The court sat in Westminster-hall.

The king was now conducted from Windsor to St. James's, and the next day was brought before the high court to take his trial. When he was brought forward, he was conducted by the mace-bearer to a chair placed within the bar. Though long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, he still sustained the dignity of a king; he surveyed the members of the court with a stern, haughty air, and without moving his hat, sat down, while the members also were covered. His charge was then read by the solicitor, accusing him of having been the cause of all the bloodshed which followed since the commencement of the war; at that part of the charge he could not suppress a smile of contempt and indignation. After the charge was finished, Bradshaw directed his discourse to the king, and told him that the court expected his answer.

The king with great temper entered upon his defence, by declining the authority of the court. He represented that having been engaged in treaty with his two houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article, he expected a different treatment from that he now received. He perceived, he said, no appearance of an upper house, which was necessary to constitute a just tribunal. That he was himself the king and fountain of law, and consequently could not be tried by laws to which he had never given his assent; that having been entrusted with the liberties of the people, he



would not now betray them , by recognising a power founded in usurpation ; that he was willing , before a proper tribunal , to enter into the particulars of his defence ; but , that before them he must decline any apology for his innocence , lest he should be considered a betrayer of , and not a martyr for , the constitution.

Bradshaw , in order to support the authority of the court , insisted , that they had received their power from the people , the source of all right. He pressed the prisoner not to decline the authority of the court , which was delegated by the commons of England , and interrupted and overruled the king in his attempts to reply. In this manner the king was three times produced before the court , and as often persisted in declining its jurisdiction. The fourth and last time he was brought before the self-created tribunal ; as he was proceeding thither , he was insulted by the soldiers and the mob , who exclaimed , « Justice ! Justice ! Execution ! Execution ! » but he continued undaunted. His judges having examined some witnesses , by whom it was proved , that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by parliament , they pronounced sentence against him.

The conduct of the king under all these instances of low-bred malice was great , firm , and equal ; in going through the hall from this execrable tribunal , the soldiers and rabble were again instigated to cry out , « Justice and execution. » They reviled him with the most bitter reproaches. Among other insults one miscreant presumed to spit in the face of his sovereign. He patiently bore their insolence : « Poor souls , » cried he , « they would treat their



generals in the same manner for six pence.» Those of the populace who still retained the feelings of humanity, expressed their sorrows in sighs and tears. A soldier, more compassionate than the rest, could not help imploring a blessing on his royal head. An officer over-hearing him, struck the honest sentinel to the ground before the king, who could not help saying, that the punishment exceeded the offence.

At his return to Whitehall, he desired the permission of the House to see his children, and to be attended in his private devotions by Dr. Juxon, late bishop of London. These requests were granted, and also three days to prepare for the execution of the sentence. All that remained of his family now in England, were the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester, a child of about three years of age. After many seasonable and sensible exhortations to his daughter, he took his little son in his arms, and embracing him, «My child,» said he, «they will cut off thy fathers's head; yes, they will cut off my head, and make thee a king. But mark what I say; thou must not be a king as long as thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They will cut off their heads when they can take them, and thy head, too, they will cut off at last; and therefore I charge thee, do not be made a king by them.» The child bursting into tears, replied, «I will be torn in pieces first.» Every night during the interval between his sentence and execution, the king slept sound as usual, though the noise of the workmen, employed in framing the scaffold, continually resounded in his ears.

The fatal morning being at last arrived, he rose



early, and calling one of his attendants, he bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for so great and joyful a solemnity. The street before Whitehall was the place destined for his execution, for it was intended that this should increase the severity of the punishment. He was led through the Banqueting-house to the scaffold adjoining to that edifice, attended by his friend and servant bishop Juxon, a man endowed with the same mild and steady virtues as his master. The scaffold, which was covered with black, was guarded by a regiment of soldiers, under the command of colonel Tomlinson, and on it were to be seen the block, the axe, and the two executioners in masks. The people in great crowds stood at a greater distance, in dreadful expectation of the event. The king surveyed all these solemn preparations with calm composure, and as he could not expect to be heard by the people at a distance, he addressed himself to the few persons who stood round him. He there justified his own innocence in the late fatal war; and observed, that he had not taken arms till after the parliament had shown him the example. That he had no other object in his warlike preparations than to preserve that authority entire, which had been transmitted to him by his ancestors; but though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker. He owned that he was justly punished for having consented to the execution of an unjust sentence upon the earl of Strafford. He forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledged his son as his



successor, and signified his attachment to the protestant religion, as professed in the church of England. So strong was the impression his dying words made upon the few who could hear him, that colonel Tomlinson himself, to whose care he had been committed, acknowledged himself a convert.

While he was preparing himself for the block, bishop Juxon called out to him, « There is, Sir, but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one. It will soon carry you a great way. It will carry you from earth to heaven, and there you shall find, to your great joy, the prize to which you hasten, a crown of glory. » — « I go, » replied the king, « from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place. » — « You exchange, » replied the bishop, « a temporal for an eternal crown, a good exchange. » Charles having taken off his cloak, delivered his George to the prelate, pronouncing the word, « Remember. » Then he laid his neck on the block, and stretching out his hands as a signal, one of the executioners severed his head from his body at a blow, while the other holding it up, exclaimed, « This is the head of a traitor. » The spectators testified their horror at that sad spectacle in sighs, tears, and lamentations; the tide of their duty and affection began to return, and each blamed himself either with active disloyalty to his king, or a passive compliance with his destroyers.

Charles was executed in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was of a mid-

Jan. 30,  
1648.



dling stature, robust, and well - proportioned. His visage was pleasing, but melancholy; and it is probable, that the continued troubles in which he was involved, might have made that impression on his countenance. As for his character the reader will deduce it with more precision and satisfaction to himself from the detail of his conduct, than from any summary given of it by the historian.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### THE COMMONWEALTH.

A. D. 1648-1660.

CROMWELL, who had secretly solicited and contrived the king's death, now began to feel wishes to which he had hitherto been a stranger. His prospects widening as he rose, his first principles of liberty were all lost in the unbounded stretch of power that lay before him. When appointed to command the army in Ireland, he had to combat against the royalists, commanded by the duke of Ormond, and the native Irish, led on by O'Neal. But such ill - connected and barbarous troops could give very little opposition to Cromwell's more numerous forces, conducted by such a general, and emboldened by long success. He soon over-ran the whole country; and after some time, all the towns revolted in his favour, and opened their gates at his approach. But in these conquests, as in all the rest of his actions, there appeared a brutal ferocity;



city ; for in order to intimidate the natives from defending their towns, he put every garrison that made any resistance to the sword.

After his return to England , he received the thanks of the House , which then proceeded to choose a general for conducting the war in Scotland, where they had espoused the royal cause , and placed young Charles, the son of their late monarch on the throne. Fairfax refusing this command upon principle , as he had all along declined opposing the presbyterians , the command necessarily devolved upon Cromwell , who boldly set forward to Scotland , at the head of an army of sixteen thousand men. The Scots , in the

mean time , who had invited over  
their wretched king , to be a pri-  
soner , not a ruler among them , prepared to meet the invasion ; but a battle ensued , in which they , though double the number of the English , were soon put to flight , and pursued with great slaughter , while Cromwell did not lose above forty men in all.

In this terrible exigence , young Charles embraced a resolution worthy a prince who was willing to hazard all for empire. Observing that the way was open to England , he resolved immediately to march into that country , where he expected to be reinforced by all the royalists in that part of the kingdom. But the Scots terrified at the prospect of so hazardous an enterprise , fell from him in great numbers ; and the English affrighted at the name of his opponent , dreaded to join him. His mortifications were still more increased as he arrived at Worcester, when informed , that Cromwell

A. D.  
1650.



was marching with hasty strides from Scotland, with an army increased to forty thousand men. The news scarce arrived, when that active general himself appeared, and falling upon the town on all sides, broke in upon the disordered royalists. The streets were strewed with slaughter, the whole Scotch army was either killed or taken prisoners; and the king himself having given many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to fly.

Imagination can scarce conceive adventures more romantic, or distress more severe, than those which attended the young king's escape from the scene of slaughter. After various disguises, and one and forty days concealment, he landed safely at Fecamp, in Normandy, although no less than forty men and women had at different times been privy to his escape.

In the mean-time, Cromwell returned in triumph to London, where he was met by the speaker of the house, accompanied by the mayor of London, and the magistrates, in all their formalities. His first care was to take advantage of his late successes, by depressing the Scots, who had so lately withstood the work of the gospel, as he called it. An act was passed for abolishing royalty in Scotland, and annexing that kingdom, as a conquered province, to the English Commonwealth. It was impowered, however, to send some members to the English parliament. Judges were appointed to distribute justice; but the prudent conduct of Monk, who was left by Cromwell to complete their subjection, served much to reconcile the minds of the Scots.

In this manner the English parliament, by the means of Cromwell, spread their uncontested au-



thority over all the British dominions. Ireland was totally subdued by Ireton and Ludlow. All the settlements in America that had declared for the royal cause, were obliged to submit; Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, were brought easily under subjection. Thus mankind saw, with astonishment, a parliament composed of sixty or seventy obscure and illiterate members, governing a great empire with unanimity and success. Without any acknowledged subordination, except a council of state, consisting of thirty-eight, to whom all addresses were made, they levied armies, maintained fleets, and gave laws to the neighbouring powers of Europe. The finances were managed with economy and exactness; few private persons became rich by the plunder of the public: the revenues of the crown, the lands of the bishops, and a tax of an hundred and twenty thousand pounds each month, supplied the wants of the government, and gave vigour to all their proceedings.

The parliament having thus reduced their native dominions to perfect obedience, next resolved to chastise the Dutch, who had given but very slight causes of complaint. It happened that one doctor Dorislaus, who was of the number of the late king's judges, being sent by the parliament as their envoy to Holland, was assassinated by one of the royal party, who had taken refuge there. Some time after, also, Mr. St. John, appointed their ambassador to that court, was insulted by the friends of the prince of Orange. These were thought motives sufficient to induce the Commonwealth of England to declare war against them. The parliament's chief dependence lay in the activity and courage of



Blake, their admiral : who, though he had not embarked in naval command till late in life, yet surpassed all that went before him in courage and dexterity. On the other side, the Dutch opposed to him their famous admiral Van Tromp, to whom they never since produced an equal. Many were the engagements between these celebrated admirals, and various was their success, but these dreadful encounters rather served to shew the excellence of the admirals, than to determine their superiority. The Dutch, however, who felt many great disadvantages by the loss of their trade, were willing to treat for a peace; but the parliament wished to keep their navy on foot as long as they could; rightly judging, that while the force of the nation was exerted by sea, it would diminish the power of general Cromwell by land, which was now become very formidable to them.

This great aspirer, however, quickly perceived their designs; and from the first saw that they dreaded his growing power, and wished its diminution. All his measures were conducted with a bold intrepidity that marked his character, and he now saw, that it was not necessary to wear the mask of subordination any longer. Secure, therefore, in the attachment of the army, he resolved to make another daring effort; and persuaded the officers to present a petition for payment of arrears and redress of grievances, which he knew would be rejected by the commons with disdain. The petition was soon drawn up and presented, in which the officers, after demanding their arrears, desired the parliament to consider how many years they had sat; and what professions they

A. D.  
1653.



had formerly made of their intentions to new model the house, and establish freedom on the broadest basis.

The house was highly offended at the presumption of the army, although they had seen but too lately that their own power was wholly founded on that very presumption. They appointed a committee to prepare an act, ordaining that all persons who presented such petitions for the future, should be deemed guilty of high treason. To this the officers made a very warm remonstrance, and the parliament as angry a reply; and the breach between them every moment grew wider. This was what Cromwell had long wished, and had long foreseen. He was sitting in council with his officers, when informed of the subject on which the house was deliberating; upon which he rose up in the most seeming fury, and turning to major Vernon, cried out, « That he was compelled to do a thing that » made the very hair of his head to stand on end. » Then he hastened to the house with three hundred soldiers with the marks of violent indignation on his countenance. Stamping with his foot, which was the signal for the soldiers to enter, the place was immediately filled with armed men. Then addressing himself to the members : « For shame, » said he, « get you gone. Give place to honest men ; » to those who will more faithfully discharge their » trust. You are no longer a parliament ; I tell » you, you are no longer a parliament; the Lord » has done with you. » Sir Harry Vane exclaiming against this conduct : « Sir Harry, » cried Cromwell with a loud voice, « O Sir Harry Vane, the Lord » deliver me from Sir Harry Vane. » Taking hold



of one by the cloak, thou art a whoremaster; to another, thou art an adulterer: to a third, thou art a drunkard; to a fourth, thou art a glutton. « It is you, » continued he to the members, « that » have forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord » night and day, that he would rather slay me than » put me upon this work. » Then pointing to the mace, « Take away, » cried he, « that bauble. » After which, turning out all the members, and clearing the hall, he ordered the doors to be locked, and putting the key in his pocket, returned to Whitehall.

The persons he pitched upon for his next parliament, were the lowest, meanest, and the most ignorant among the citizens, and the very dregs of the fanatics. He was well apprised that during the administration of such a groupe of characters he alone must govern, or that they must soon throw up the reins of government, which they were unqualified to guide. Accordingly, their practice justified his sagacity. One of them particularly, who was called Praise God Barebone, a canting leather-seller, gave his name to this odd assembly, as it was called Barebone's Parliament. But the very vulgar began to exclaim against so foolish a legislature; and some of themselves seemed not insensible of this ridicule. And these, by consent, met earlier than the rest of their fraternity: and observing to each other, that this parliament had sat long enough, they hastened to Cromwell, with Rouse their speaker at their head, and into his hands they resigned their authority. This Cromwell accepted with pleasure; but being told that some of the number were refractory, he sent colonel



White to clear the house of such as ventured to remain there. They had placed one Moyer in the chair by the time that the colonel had arrived; and he being asked by the colonel, « What they did there? » Moyer replied very gravely, that they were seeking the Lord. « Then you may go elsewhere, » cried White; « for to my certain knowledge the Lord » has not been here these many years. »

This shadow of a parliament being dissolved, the officers, by their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the Commonwealth of England. He was to be addressed by the title of Highness; and his power was proclaimed in London, and the other parts of the kingdom. Thus an obscure and vulgar man, at the age of fifty-three, rose to unbounded power; first by following small events in his favour, and at length by directing great ones.

Cromwell chose his council among his officers, who had been the companions of his dangers and his victories, to each of whom he assigned a pension of one thousand pounds a year. He took care to have his troops, upon whose fidelity he depended for support, paid a month in advance: the magazines were also well provided, and the public treasury managed with frugality and care; while his activity, vigilance, and resolution were such, that he discovered every conspiracy against his person, and every plot for an insurrection, before they took effect. His management of foreign affairs corresponded with his character, and, for a while, were attended with success. The Dutch having been humbled by repeated defeats, and totally abridged in their commercial concerns, were obliged at last to



sue for peace, which he gave them upon these terms. He insisted upon their paying deference to the British flag; he compelled them to abandon the interest of the king, and to pay eighty-five thousand pounds as an indemnification for former expences, and to restore the English East India company a part of those dominions of which they had been dispossessed by the Dutch during the former reign.

Nor was he less successful in his negociations with the court of France. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom the affairs of that kingdom were conducted, deemed it necessary to pay deference to the protector; and desirous rather to prevail by dexterity than violence, submitted to Cromwell's imperious character, and thus procured ends equally beneficial to both.

The court of Spain was not less assiduous in its endeavours to gain his friendship, but was not so successful. This vast monarchy, which but a few years before had threatened the liberties of Europe, was now reduced so low as to be scarce able to defend itself. Cromwell, however, who knew nothing of foreign politics, still continued to regard its power with an eye of jealousy, and came into an association with France to depress it still more. He lent that court a body of six thousand men to attack the Spanish dominions in the Netherlands; and upon obtaining a signal victory by his assistance at Dunne, the French put Dunkirk, which they had just taken from the Spaniards, into his hands, as a reward for his attachment.

But it was by sea that he humbled the power of Spain with still more effectual success. Blake, who had long made himself formidable to the Dutch, and



whose fame was spread over Europe, now became still more dreadful to the Spanish monarchy. He sailed with a fleet into the Mediterranean, whither, since the time of the crusaders, no English fleet had ever ventured to advance. He there conquered all that dared to oppose him. Casting anchor before Leghorn, he demanded and obtained satisfaction for some injuries which the English commerce had suffered from the duke of Tuscany. He next sailed to Algiers, and compelled the Dey to make peace, and to restrain his piratical subjects from farther injuring the English. He then went to Tunis, and having made the same demands, he was desired by the

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Dey of that place to look at the two castles, Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake shewed him that he was not slow in accepting the challenge; he entered the harbour, burned the shipping there, and then sailed out triumphantly to pursue his voyage. At Cadiz he took two galleons valued at near two millions of pieces of eight. At the Canaries he burned a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships, and returning home to England to enjoy the fame of his noble actions, as he came within sight of his native country he expired. This gallant man, though he fought for an usurper, yet was averse to his cause; he was a zealous republican in principle, and his aim was to serve his country, not to establish a tyrant. « It is still our duty, » he would say to the seamen, « to fight for our country, into whatever hands the government may fall. »

At the same time that Blake's expeditions were going forward, there was another carried on under the command of admirals Pen and Venables, with



about four thousand land forces, to attack the island of Hispaniola. Failing, however, in this, and being driven off the place by the Spaniards, they steered to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without a blow. So little was thought of the importance of this conquest, that, upon the return of the expedition, Pen and Venables were sent to the Tower, for their failure in the principal object of their expedition.

But it must not be supposed that Cromwell's situation was at this time enviable. Perhaps no station could be more truly distressing than his, at a time the nation was loading him with congratulations and addresses. He had rendered himself hateful to every party; and he owed his safety to their mutual hatred and diffidence of each other. His arts of dissimulation had been long exhausted; none now could be deceived by them, those of his own party and principles disdaining the use to which he had converted his zeal and professions. The whole nation silently detested his administration, but he had not still been reduced to the extreme of wretchedness, if he could have found domestic consolation, but even Fleetwood, his son-in-law, detested that character which could use religious professions for the purposes of temporal advancement. His eldest daughter, married to Fleetwood, had adopted republican principles so vehemently, that she could not behold even her own father entrusted with uncontrollable power. His other daughters were no less sanguine in favour of the royal cause; and Mrs. Claypole, his favourite daughter, upon her death-bed, upbraided him with all those crimes that led him to trample on the throne.

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Every hour added some new disquietude. Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and many of the heads of the presbyterians, had secretly entered into an engagement to destroy him. His administration, so expensive both at home and abroad, had exhausted his revenue, and he was left considerably in debt. One conspiracy was no sooner detected, but another rose from its ruins; and to increase his calamity, he was now taught, upon reasoning principles, that his death was not only desirable, but his assassination would be meritorious. A book was published by colonel Titus, a man who had formerly been attached to his cause, intitled, *Killing no Murder*. Of all the pamphlets that came forth at that time, this was the most eloquent and masterly. Cromwell read it, and was never seen to smile more. The fear of assassination haunted him in all his walks, and were perpetually present to his imagination. He wore armour under his clothes, and always kept pistols in his pockets. His aspect was clouded by a settled gloom; and he regarded every stranger with a glance of timid suspicion. He always travelled with hurry, and was ever attended by a numerous guard. He never returned from any place by the road he went; and seldom slept above three nights together in the same chamber. Society terrified him, as there he might meet an enemy; solicitude was terrible, as he was there unguarded by any friend.

A tertian ague kindly came at last to deliver him from this life of horror and anxiety. For the space of a week no dangerous symptoms appeared; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length the fever increased, and he became delirious. He was just able to answer yes, to the de-



mand, whether his son Richard should be appointed to succeed him. He died on the third day of September, that very day which he had always considered as the most fortunate of his life; he was then fifty-nine years old, and had usurped the government nine years.

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Whatever might have been the difference of interest after the death of the usurper, the influence of his name was still sufficient to get Richard his son proclaimed protector in his room. But the army discontented with such a leader, established a meeting at general Fleetwood's which, as he dwelt in Wallingford-house, was called the Cabal of Wallingford. The result of their deliberation was a remonstrance that the command of the army should be entrusted to some person in whom they might all confide; and it was plainly given to understand that the young protector was not that person. And Richard, who wanted resolution to defend his title, soon signed his abdication in form, and retired to live several years after his resignation, at first on the continent, and afterwards upon his paternal fortune at home.

The officers being once more left to themselves, determined to replace the remnant of the old parliament which had beheaded the king, and which Cromwell had so disgracefully turned out of the house. The Rump parliament, for that was the name it went by, being now reinstated, became vigorous in its attempts to lessen the power by which it was replaced. The officers in the army therefore determined, as was usual enough in these times, to dissolve that assembly, by which they were so vehemently opposed. Accordingly Lambert, one of the generals, drew up a chosen body of the troops, and placing



placing them in the streets which led to Westminster-hall, when the speaker, Lenthall, proceeded in his carriage to the house, he ordered the horses to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were likewise intercepted, and the army returned to their quarters to observe a solemn fast, which generally either preceded or attended their outrages.

During these transactions, general Monk was at the head of eight thousand veterans in Scotland, and beheld the distraction of his native country with but slender hopes of relieving it. Whatever might have been his designs, it was impossible to cover them with greater secrecy than he did. As soon as he put his army in motion, to enquire into the causes of the disturbances in the capital, his countenance was eagerly sought by all the contending parties. He still however continued to march his army towards the capital, all the world equally in doubt as to his motives, and astonished at his reserve. But Monk continued his inflexible taciturnity, and at last came to St. Alban's within a few miles of London.

He there sent the Rump parliament, who had resumed their seat, a message, desiring them to remove such forces as remained in London to the country quarters. In the mean time the House of Commons having passed votes for the composure of the kingdom, dissolved themselves, and gave orders for the immediate assembling a new parliament.

As yet the new parliament was not assembled, and no person had hitherto dived into the designs of the general; he still persevered in his reserve, and although the calling a new parliament was but in

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other words to restore the king; yet his expressions never once betrayed the secret of his bosom. Nothing but a security of confidence at last extorted the confession from him. He had been intimate with one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonshire, of a sedentary, studious disposition, and with him alone did he deliberate upon the great and dangerous enterprise of the restoration. Sir John Granville, who had a commission from the king, applied for access to the general; he was desired to communicate his business to Morrice. Granville refused, though twice urged, to deliver his message to any but the general himself: so that Monk now finding he could depend upon this minister's secrecy, opened to him his whole intentions; but with his usual caution still scrupled to commit any thing to paper. In consequence of this, the king left the Spanish territories, where he very narrowly escaped being detained at Breda by the governor, under pretence of treating him with proper respect and formality. From thence he retired into Holland, where he resolved to wait for farther advice.

At length the long expected day for the sitting of a free parliament arrived. The affections of all were turned towards the king; yet such dangers attended a freedom of speech, that no one dared for some days to make any mention of his name. All this time Monk, with his usual reserve, tried their tempers, and examined the ardour of their wishes; at length he gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform them that one Sir John Granville, a servant of the king, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the commons. Nothing could exceed the joy



and transport with which this message was received. The members for a moment forgot the dignity of their situations, and indulged in a loud acclamation of applause. Granville was called in, and the letter eagerly read. A moment's pause was scarce allowed, all at once the house burst out into an universal assent to the king's proposals; and to diffuse the joy more widely, it was voted that the letter and indemnity should immediately be published.

Charles II. entered London on the twenty-ninth of May, which was his birth-day. An innumerable concourse of people lined the way wherever he passed, and rent the air with their acclamations. They had been so long distracted by unrelenting factions, oppressed and alarmed by a succession of tyrannies, that they could no longer suppress these emotions of delight to behold their constitution restored; or rather, like a phoenix, appearing more beautiful and vigorous from the ruins of its former conflagration.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### CHARLES II.

A. D. 1648. USURFATION — 1660, 1685.

WHEN Charles came to the throne he was thirty years of age, possessed of an agreeable person, an elegant address, and an engaging manner. His whole demeanour and behaviour was well calculated to support and increase popularity. Accustomed during his exile to live cheerfully among his courtiers, he carried the same endearing familiarities to the



throne; and, from the levity of his temper, no injuries were dreaded from his former resentments. But it was soon found that all these advantages were merely superficial. His indolence and love of pleasure, made him averse to all kinds of business; his familiarities were prostituted to the worst as well as the best of his subjects; and he took no care to reward his former friends, as he had taken few steps to be avenged of his former enemies.

Though an act of indemnity was passed, those who had an immediate hand in the king's death were exempted. Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, though dead, were considered as proper objects of resentment; their bodies were dug from their graves, dragged to the place of execution, and after hanging some time, buried under the gallows. Of the rest, who sat in judgment on the late monarch's trial, some were dead, and some were thought worthy of pardon. Ten only, out of fourscore, were devoted to immediate destruction. These were enthusiasts, who had all along acted from principle, and who, in the general spirit of rage excited against them, shewed a fortitude that might do honour to a better cause.

This was the time for the king to have made himself independent of all parliaments; and it is said that Southampton, one of his ministers, had thought of procuring his master from the commons the grant of a revenue of two millions a year, which would have effectually rendered him absolute; but in this his views were obstructed by the great Clarendon, who, though attached to the king, was still more the friend of liberty and the laws. Charles, however, was no way interested in these opposite



views of his ministers; he only desired money in order to prosecute his pleasures; and provided he had that, he little regarded the manner in which it was obtained.

His continual exigencies drove him constantly to measures no way suited to his inclination. Among others, was his marriage celebrated at this time with Catherine, the infanta of Portugal, who, though a virtuous princess, possessed as it should seem but few personal attractions. It was the portion of this princess that the needy monarch was enamoured of, which amounted to three hundred thousand pounds, together with the fortress of Tangier in Africa, and of Bombay in the East Indies. The chancellor Clarendon, the dukes of Ormond and Southampton, urged many reasons against this match, particularly the likelihood of her never having any children; the king disregarded their advice, and the inauspicious marriage was celebrated accordingly. It was probably also with a view of supporting his pleasures, that he declared war against the Dutch, as the money appointed for that purpose would go through his hands. In this naval war, which continued to rage for some years with great fierceness, much blood was spilt, and great treasure exhausted, until at last a treaty was concluded at Breda, by which the colony of New-York was ceded by the Dutch to the English, and considered as a most valuable acquisition. But this was considered as inglorious to the English, as they gained no redress upon the complaints which gave rise to it. Lord Clarendon, particularly, was blamed both for having first advised an unnecessary war, and then for concluding a disgraceful peace. He had been long declining in the



king's favour, and he was no less displeasing to the majority of the people; and this seemed the signal for his enemies to step in, and effect his entire overthrow. A charge was opened against him in the house of commons by Mr. Seymour, consisting of seventeen articles. These, which were only a catalogue of the popular rumours before mentioned, appeared at first sight false or frivolous. However, Clarendon finding the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, running with impetuosity against him, thought proper to withdraw to France.

Having thus got rid of his virtuous minister, the king soon after resigned himself to the direction of a set of men who afterwards went by the appellation of the Cabal, from the initials of the names of which it was composed. The first of them, Sir Thomas Clifford, was a man of a daring and impetuous spirit, rendered more dangerous by eloquence and intrigue. Lord Ashley, soon after known by the name of lord Shaftsbury, was turbulent, ambitious, subtle, and enterprising. The duke of Buckingham was gay, capricious, of some wit, and great vivacity. Arlington was a man of very moderate capacity; his intentions were good, but he wanted courage to persevere in them. Lastly, the duke of Lauderdale, who was not defective in natural and still less in acquired talents; but neither was his address graceful, nor his understanding just; he was ambitious, obstinate, insolent, and sullen.

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These were the men to whom Charles gave up the conduct of his affairs; and who plunged the remaining part of his reign in difficulties, which produced the most dangerous symptoms.



From this inauspicious combination the people had entertained violent jealousies against the court. The fears and discontents of the nation were vented without restraint : the apprehensions of a popish successor, an abandoned court, and a parliament which, though sometimes assertors of liberty, yet which had now continued for seventeen years without change, naturally rendered the minds of mankind timid and suspicious, and they only wanted objects on which to wreak their ill humour.

When the spirit of the English is once roused, they either find objects of suspicion or make them. On the 12th of August, one Kirby, a chemist, accosted the king as he was walking in the park. « Sir (said he), keep within the company; your enemies have a design upon your life, and you may be shot in this very walk.» Being questioned in consequence of this strange intimation, he offered to produce one Dr. Tongue, a weak, credulous clergyman, who had told him, that two persons, named Grove and Pickering, were engaged to murder the king; and that Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, had undertaken the same task by poison. Tongue was introduced to the king with a bundle of papers relating to this pretended conspiracy, and was referred to the lord treasurer Danby. He there declared that the papers were thrust under his door; and he afterwards asserted, that he knew the author of them, who desired that his name might be concealed, as he dreaded the resentment of the Jesuits.

This information appeared so vague and unsatisfactory, that the king concluded the whole was a fiction. However, Tongue went again to the lord treasurer, and told him, that a packet of letters,



written by Jesuits concerned in the plot, was that night to be put into the post-house for Windsor, directed to one Bedingfield, a Jesuit, who was confessor to the duke of York, and who resided there. These letters had actually been received a few hours before by the duke, but he had shewn them to the king as a forgery, of which he neither knew the drift nor the meaning.

Titus Oates, who was the fountain of all this dreadful intelligence, was produced soon after, and, with seeming reluctance, came to give his evidence. This Titus Oates was an abandoned miscreant, obscure, illiterate, vulgar, and indigent. He had been once indicted for perjury, was afterwards chaplain on board a man of war, and dismissed for unnatural practices. He then professed himself a Roman catholic, and crossed the sea to St. Omer's, where he was for some time maintained in the English seminary of that city. At a time that he was supposed to have been entrusted with a secret involving the fate of king, he was allowed to remain in such necessity, that Kirby was obliged to supply him with daily bread.

He had two methods to pursue, either to ingratiate himself by this information with the ministry, or to alarm the people, and thus turn their fears to his advantage. He chose the latter method. He went, therefore, with his two companions, to Sir Edmonsbury Godfrey, a noted and active justice of the peace, and before him deposed to a narrative dressed up in terrors fit to make an impression on the vulgar. The pope, he said, considered himself as entitled to the possession of England and Ireland, on account of the heresy of the prince and people, and



had accordingly assumed the sovereignty of these kingdoms. The king, whom the Jesuits call the Black Bastard, was solemnly tried by them, and condemned as an heretic. Grove and Pickering, to make sure work, were employed to shoot the king, and that too with silver bullets. The duke of York was to be offered the crown in consequence of the success of these probable shemes, on condition of extirpating the protestant religion. Upon his refusal, « To pot James must go, » as the Jesuits were said to express it.

In consequence of this dreadful information sufficiently marked with absurdity, vulgarity, and contradiction, Titus Oates became the favourite of the people, notwithstanding during his examination before the council, he so betrayed the grossness of his impostures, that he contradicted himself in every step of his narration. A great number of the Jesuits mentioned by Oates were immediately taken into custody. Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, who was said to have acted so strenuous a part in the conspiracy, at first retired; but next day surrendered himself to the secretary of state, and some of his papers, by Oates's directions, were secured.

In this fluctuation of passions an accident served to confirm the prejudices of the people, and to put it beyond a doubt that Oates's narrative was nothing but the truth. Sir Edmonsbury Godfrey, who had been so active in unravelling the whole mystery of the popish machinations, after having been missing some days, was found dead in a ditch by Primrose-hill, in the way to Hampstead. The cause of his death remains, and must still continue, a secret; but the people, already enraged against the



papists, did not hesitate a moment to ascribe it to them. The body of Godfrey was carried through the street in procession, preceded by seventy clergymen; and every one who saw it made no doubt that his death could be only caused by the papists. Even the better sort of people were infected with this vulgar prejudice, and such was the general conviction of popish guilt, that no man, with any regard to personal safety, could express the least doubt concerning the information of Oates, or the murder of Godfrey.

In order to continue and propagate the alarm, the parliament affected to believe it true. An address was voted for a solemn fast. It was requested that all papers tending to throw light upon so horrible a conspiracy might be laid before the house; that all papists should remove from London; that access should be denied at court to all unknown and suspicious persons; and that the train-bands in London and Westminster should be in readiness to march. Oates was recommended by parliament to the king. He was lodged in Whitehall, and encouraged by a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year to proceed in forging new informations.

The encouragement given to Oates did not fail to bring in others also, who hoped to profit by the delusion of the times. William Bedloe, a man, if possible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next upon the stage. He was, like the former, of very low birth, and had been noted for several cheats and thefts. At his own desire he was arrested at Bristol, and conveyed to London, where he declared before the council that he had seen the body of Sir Edmonsbury Godfrey at Somerset house,



where the queen lived. He said that a servant of Lord Bellasis offered to give him four thousand pounds if he would carry it off; and finding all his information greedily received, he confirmed and heightened Oates's plot with aggravated horrors. Thus encouraged by the general voice in their favour, the witnesses, who all along had enlarged their narratives, in proportion as they were eagerly received, went a step farther, and ventured to accuse the queen. The commons, in an address to the king, gave countenance to this scandalous accusation; the lords rejected it with becoming disdain.

Edward Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, was the first who was brought to trial. Bedloe swore that he had received a commission, signed by the superior of the Jesuits, appointing him papal secretary of state, and that he had consented to the king's assassination. After this unfortunate man's sentence, thus procured by these vipers, many members of both houses offered to interpose in his behalf, if he would make an ample confession; but, as he was in reality possessed of no treasonable secrets, he would not procure life by falsehood and imposture. He suffered with calmness and constancy, and to the last persisted in the strongest protestations of his innocence.

The trial of Coleman was succeeded by those of Ireland, Pickering and Grove. They were found guilty, but went to execution protesting their innocence, a circumstance which made no impression on the spectators; their being Jesuits, banished even pity from their sufferings. Hill, Green and Berry, were tried upon the evidence of one Miles Prance, for the murder of Godfrey; but though



Bedloe's narrative, and Prance's information, were totally irreconcilable, and though their testimony was invalidated by contrary evidence, the prisoners were condemned and executed. They all denied their guilt at execution; and as Berry died a protestant, this circumstance was regarded as very considerable.

Whitbread, provincial of the Jesuits, Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, all of them of the same order, were brought to their trial, and Langhorne soon after. Besides Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale, a new witness, appeared against the prisoners. This man spread the alarm still farther, and asserted, that two hundred thousand papists in England were ready to take arms. The prisoners proved, by sixteen witnesses from St. Omer's, that Oates was in that seminary at the time he swore he was at London. But as they were papists, their testimony could gain no manner of credit. All pleas availed them nothing; both the Jesuits and Langhorne were condemned and executed, with their last breath denying the crimes for which they died.

The informers had less success on the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, who, though they swore with their usual animosity, was acquitted. His condemnation would have involved the queen in his guilt, and it is probable the judge and jury were afraid of venturing so far.

The earl of Stafford, near two years after, was the last man who fell a sacrifice to these bloody wretches; the witnesses produced against him were Oates, Dugdale, and Tuberville. Oates swore that he saw Fenwick, the Jesuit, deliver Stafford a commission from the general of the Jesuits, consti-



tuting him paymaster of the papal army. The clamour and outrage of the populace against the prisoner was very great; he was found guilty: and condemned to be hanged and quartered; but the king changed the sentence into that of beheading. He was executed on Tower-hill, where even his persecutors could not forbear shedding tears at that serene fortitude which shone in every feature, motion, and accent of this aged nobleman.

This parliament had continued to sit for seventeen years without interruption, when a new one was called, in which was passed the celebrated statute, called the Habeas Corpus Act, which confirms the subject in an absolute security from oppressive power. By this act it was prohibited to send any one to prisons beyond the sea; no judge, under severe penalties, was to refuse to any prisoner his writ of habeas corpus, by which the gaoler was to produce in court the body of the prisoner, whence the writ had its name, and to certify the cause of his detainer and imprisonment. If the gaol lie within twenty miles of the judge, the writ must be obeyed in three days, and so proportionably for greater distances. Every prisoner must be indicted the first term of his commitment, and brought to trial the subsequent term. And no man, after being enlarged by court, can be re-committed for the same offence.

The Meal-Tub Plot, as it was called, soon followed the former. One Dangerfield, a wretch who had been set in the pillory, scourged, branded, and transported for felony and coining, hatched a plot, in conjunction with a midwife, whose name was Cellier, a Roman catholic, of abandoned cha-



racter. Dangerfield began by declaring, that there was a design on foot to set up a new form of government, and remove the king and the royal family. He communicated this intelligence to the king and the duke of York, who supplied him with money, and countenanced his discovery. He hid some seditious papers in the lodging of one colonel Mansel; and then brought the custom-house officers to his apartment, to search for smuggled merchandize. The papers were found, and the council having examined the affair, concluded they were forged by Dangerfield. They ordered all the places he frequented to be searched; and in the house of Cellier the whole scheme of the conspiracy was discovered upon paper, concealed in a meal-tub, from whence the plot had its name. Dangerfield being committed to Newgate, made an ample confession of the forgery, which, though probably entirely of his own contrivance, he ascribed to the earl of Castlemain, the countess of Powis, and the five lords in the Tower. He said that the design was to suborn witnesses to prove a charge of perjury upon Oates, to assassinate the earl of Shaftesbury, to accuse the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Essex, Halifax, and others, of having been concerned in the conspiracy against the king and his brother. Upon this information, the earl of Castlemain, and the countess of Powis were sent to the Tower, and the king himself was suspected of encouraging this imposture.

The chief point which the present house of commons laboured to obtain, was the Exclusion Bill, which, though the former house had voted, was never passed into a law. Shaftesbury, and many



considerable men of the party, had rendered themselves so obnoxious to the duke of York, that they could find safety in no measure but his ruin. Monmouth's friends hoped that the exclusion of James would make room for their own patron. The duke of York's professed bigotry to the catholic superstition influenced numbers; and his tyrannies, which were practised without controul, while he continued in Scotland, rendered his name odious to thousands. In a week, therefore, after the commencement of the sessions, a motion was made for bringing in a bill, for excluding him from the succession to the throne: and a committee was appointed for that purpose. The debates were carried on with great violence on both sides. The king was present during the whole debate; and had the pleasure of seeing the bill thrown out by a very great majority.

Each party had now for some time reviled and ridiculed each other in pamphlets and libels; and this practice, at last, was attended with an incident that deserves notice. One Fitzharris, an Irish papist, dependent on the duchess of Portsmouth, one of the king's mistresses, used to supply her with these occasional publications. But he was resolved to add to their number by his own endeavours; and employed one Everard, a Scotchman, to write a libel against the king and the duke of York. The Scot was actually a spy for the opposite party, and supposing this a trick to entrap him, he discovered the whole to Sir William Waller, an eminent justice of peace; and to convince him of the truth of his information, posted him, and two other persons, privately, where they heard the whole conference



between Fitzharris and himself. The libel composed between them was replete with the utmost rancour and scurrility. Waller carried the intelligence to the king, and obtained a warrant for committing Fitzharris, who happened at that very time to have a copy of the libel in his pocket. Seeing himself in the hands of a party, from which he expected no mercy, he resolved to side with them, and throw the odium of the libel upon the court, who, he said, were willing to draw up a libel, which should be imputed to the exclusioners, and thus render them hateful to the people. He enhanced his services with the country party, by a new popish plot, still more tremendous than any of the foregoing. He brought in the duke of York as a principal accomplice in this plot, and as a contriver in the murder of Sir Edmonsbury Godfrey.

The king imprisoned Fitzharris; the commons avowed his cause. They voted, that he should be impeached by themselves, to screen him from the ordinary forms of justice; the lords rejected the impeachment; the commons asserted their right: a commotion was likely to ensue; and the king, to break off the contest, went to the house, and dissolved the parliament, with a fixed resolution never to call another. This vigorous measure was a blow that the parliament had never expected; and nothing but the necessity of the times could have justified the king's manner of proceeding. From that moment, which ended the parliamentary commotions, Charles seemed to rule with despotic power, and he was resolved to leave the succession to his brother, clogged with all the faults and misfortunes of his own administration. His temper, which had



always been easy and merciful, now became arbitrary, and even cruel : he entertained spies and informers round the throne, and imprisoned all such as he thought most daring in their designs.

He resolved to humble the Presbyterians, whom he divested of their employments and their places, which were given to such as held with the court, and approved the doctrine of non-resistance. The clergy began to testify their zeal and their principles by their writings and their sermons; but though among these the partizans of the king were the most numerous, those of the opposite faction were the most enterprising. The king openly espoused the cause of the former; and thus placing himself at the head of a faction, he deprived the city of London, which had long headed the popular party, of their charter. It was not till after an abject submission that he restored it to them, having previously subjected the election of their magistrates to his immediate authority.

Terrors also were not wanting to confirm his new species of monarchy. Fitzharris was brought to his trial before a jury, and condemned and executed. The whole gang of spies, witnesses, informers, suborners, which had long been encouraged and supported by the leading patriots, finding now that the king was entirely master, turned short upon their ancient drivers, and offered their evidence against those who had first put them in motion. The king's ministers, with a horrid satisfaction, gave them countenance and encouragement; so that soon the same cruelties and the same injustice were practised against presbyterian schemes, that had been employed against catholic treasons.



The first person who fell under the displeasure of the ministry was one Stephen College, a London joiner, who had become so noted for his zeal against popery, that he went by the name of the Protestant Joiner. He had attended the city members to Oxford, armed with sword and pistol; he had sometimes been heard to speak irreverently of the king, and was now presented by the grand jury of London as guilty of sedition. A jury at Oxford, after half an hour's deliberation, brought him in guilty, and the spectators testified their inhuman pleasure with a shout of applause. He bore his fate with unshaken fortitude; and at the place of execution denied the crime for which he had been condemned.

A. D.  
1683.

The power of the crown at this time became irresistible, the city of London having been deprived of their charter, which was restored only upon terms of submission; and the giving up the nomination of their own magistrates was so mortifying a circumstance, that all the other corporations in England soon began to fear the same treatment, and were successively induced to surrender their charters into the hands of the king. Considerable sums were exacted for restoring these charters; and all the offices of trust, power, and profit, were left at the disposal of the crown. Resistance now, however justifiable, could not be safe; and prudent men saw no other expedient, but peaceably submitting to the present grievances. But there was a party in England that still cherished their former ideas of freedom, and were resolved to hazard every danger in its defence.



The duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son, by Mrs. Waters, engaged the earl of Macclesfield, lord Brandon, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, and other gentlemen in Cheshire, in his cause. Lord Russel fixed a correspondence with Sir William Courtney, Sir Francis Rowles, and Sir Francis Drake, who promised to raise the West. Shaftesbury, with one Ferguson, an independent clergyman, managed the city, upon which the confederates chiefly relied. It was now that this turbulent man found his schemes most likely to take effect; and after the disappointment and destruction of an hundred plots, he at last began to be sure of this. But, like all the former, it was disappointed. The caution of lord Russel, who induced the duke of Monmouth to put off the enterprise, saved the kingdom from the horrors of a civil war; while Shaftesbury was so struck with the sense of his impending danger that he left his house, and lurking about the city, attempted, but in vain, to drive the Londoners into open insurrection. At last enraged at the numberless cautions and delays which clogged and defeated his projects, he threatened to begin with his friends alone. However, after a long struggle between fear and rage, he abandoned all hopes of success; and fled out of the kingdom to Amsterdam, where he ended his turbulent life soon after, without being pitied by his friends or feared by his enemies.

The loss of Shaftesbury, though it retarded the views of the conspirators, did not suppress them. A council of six was erected, consisting of Monmouth, Russel, Essex, Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson to the great man of



that name. These, together with the duke of Argyle, were the leaders of this conspiracy. But there was also a set of subordinate conspirators, who frequently met together, and carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth and his council. Among these was colonel Rumsey, an old republican officer, together with lieutenant-colonel Walcot, of the same stamp, Goodenough, undersheriff of London, a zealous and noted party-man, Ferguson, the independent minister, and several attornies, merchants, and tradesmen of London. These men in their meetings embraced the most desperate resolutions. They proposed to assassinate the king in his way to Newmarket; Rumbal, one of the party, possessed a farm upon that road called the Rye-house, and from thence the conspiracy was denominated the Rye-house-Plot. They deliberated upon a scheme of stopping the king's coach by overturning a cart on the highway at this place, and shooting him through the hedges. The house in which the king lived at Newmarket, took fire accidentally, and he was obliged to leave Newmarket eight days sooner than was expected, to which circumstance his safety was ascribed.

Among the conspirators was one Keiling, who, finding himself in danger of a prosecution for arresting the lord mayor of London, resolved to earn his pardon by discovering this plot to the ministry. Colonel Rumsey, and West, a lawyer, no sooner understood this, than they agreed to save their lives by turning king's evidence, and surrendered themselves accordingly. Monmouth absconded; Russel was sent to the Tower; Grey escaped; Howard was taken concealed in a chimney; Essex, Sidney, and Hampden, were soon after arrested, and had the



mortification to find lord Howard an evidence against them.

Walcot was first brought to trial and condemned, together with Hone and Rouse, two associates in the conspiracy, upon the evidence of Rumsey, West, and Shepherd. They died acknowledging the justice of this sentence. A much greater sacrifice was shortly after to follow. This was the lord Russel, son of the earl of Bedford, a nobleman of good qualities, and led into this conspiracy from a conviction of the duke of York's intentions to restore popery. He was liberal, popular, humane, and brave. All his virtues were so many crimes in the present suspicious disposition of the court. The chief evidence against him was lord Howard, a man of very bad character, one of the conspirators, who was now contented to take life upon such terms, and to accept of infamous safety. This witness swore that Russel was engaged in the design of an insurrection; but he acquitted him, as did also Rumsey and West, of being privy to the assassination. The jury, who were zealous royalists, after a short deliberation, brought the prisoner in guilty, and he was condemned to suffer beheading. The scaffold for his execution was erected in Lincoln's-inn-fields; he laid his head on the block without the least change of countenance, and at two strokes it was severed from his body.

The celebrated Algernon Sidney, son to the earl of Leicester, was next brought to his trial. He had been formerly engaged in the parliamentary army against the late king, and was even named on the high court of justice that tried him, but had not taken his seat among the judges. He had ever



opposed Cromwell's usurpation, and went into voluntary banishment upon the Restoration. His affairs, however, requiring his return, he applied to the king for a pardon, and obtained his request. But all his hopes and all his reasonings, were formed upon republican principles. For his adored republic, he had written and fought, and went into banishment, and ventured to return. It may easily be conceived how obnoxious a man of such principles was to a court that now was not even content to be without limitations to its power. They went so far as to take illegal methods to procure his condemnation. The only witness that deposed against Sidney was lord Howard, and the law required two. In order, therefore, to make out a second witness, they had recourse to a very extraordinary expedient. In ransacking his closet some discourses on government were found in his own hand-writing, containing principles favourable to liberty, but in themselves no way subversive of a limited government. By overstraining some of these they were construed into treason. It was in vain he alledged that papers were no evidence; that it could not be proved they were written by him; that, if proved, the papers themselves contained nothing criminal. His defence was overruled; the violent and inhuman Jefferies, who was now chief-justice, early prevailed on a partial jury to bring him in guilty, and his execution followed soon after. One can scarce contemplate the transactions of this reign without horror. Such a picture of factious guilt on each side, a court at once immersed in sensuality and blood, a people armed against each other with the most deadly animosity,



and no single party to be found with sense enough to stem the general torrent of rancour and factious suspicion.

Hampden was tried soon after, and as there was nothing to affect his life, he was fined forty thousand pounds. Hollovay, a merchant of Bristol, who had fled to the West-Indies, was brought over, condemned and executed. Sir Thomas Armstrong also, who had fled to Holland, was brought over, and shared the same fate. Lord Essex who had been imprisoned in the Tower, was found in an apartment with his throat cut; but whether he was guilty of suicide, or whether the bigotry of the times might not have induced some assassin to commit the crime, cannot now be known. This was the last blood that was shed for an imputation of plots or conspiracies, which continued during the greatest part of this reign.

At this period the government of Charles was as absolute as that of any monarch in Europe; but his tyranny was but of short duration. He was seized with a sudden fit which resembled an apoplexy; and though he was recovered by bleeding, yet he languished only for a few days, and then expired, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. During his illness some clergymen of the church of England attended him, to whom he discovered a total indifference. Catholic priests were brought to his bed-side, and from their hands he received the rites of their communion.

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## CHAPTER XXXI.

JAMES II.

A. D. 1685-1689.

**T**HE duke of York, who succeeded his brother by the title of king James the second, had been bred a papist by his mother, and was strongly bigotted to his principles. He went openly to mass with all the ensigns of his dignity, and even sent one Caryl as his agent to Rome to make submissions to the pope, and to pave the way for the readmission of England into the bosom of the catholic church. A conspiracy set on foot by the duke of Monmouth, was the first disturbance in his reign. He had, since his last conspiracy, been pardoned, but was ordered to depart the kingdom, and had retired to Holland. Being dismissed from thence by the prince of Orange upon James's accession, he went to Brussels, where finding himself still pursued by the king's severity, he resolved to retaliate, and make an attempt upon the kingdom. He had ever been the darling of the people, and some averred that Charles had married his mother, and owned Monmouth's legitimacy at his death. The duke of Argyle seconded his views in Scotland, and they formed the scheme of a double insurrection; so that while Monmouth should attempt to make a rising in the West, Argyle was also to try his endeavours in the North.

Argyle



Argyle was the first who landed in Scotland, where he published his manifestoes, put himself at the head of two thousand five hundred men, and strove to influence the people in his cause, but a formidable body of the king's forces coming against him, his army fell away, and he himself, after being wounded in attempting to escape, was taken prisoner by a peasant, who found him standing up to his neck in a pool of water. He was from thence carried to Edinburgh, where after enduring many indignities with a gallant spirit, he was publicly executed.

A. D.  
1685.

Meanwhile Monmouth was by this time landed in Dorsetshire, with scarce a hundred followers. However his name was so popular, and so great was the hatred of the people both for the person and religion of James, that in four days he had assembled a body of above two thousand men. Being advanced to Taunton, his numbers had increased to six thousand men; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to dismiss numbers, who crowded to his standard. He entered Bridgewater, Wells, and Frome, and was proclaimed in all those places; but he lost the hour of action, in receiving and claiming these empty honours.

The king was not a little alarmed at this invasion; but still more at the success of an undertaking that at first appeared desperate. Six regiments of British troops were recalled from Holland, and a body of regulars, to the number of three thousand men, were sent, under the command of the Earl of Feversham and Churchill, to check the progress of the rebels. They took post at Sedgemore, a village



in the neighbourhood of Bridgewater , and were joined by the militia of the country in considerable numbers. It was there that Monmouth resolved, by a desperate effort, to lose his life or gain the kingdom. The negligent disposition made by Feversham invited him to the attack ; and his faithful followers shewed what courage and principle could do against discipline and superior numbers. They drove the royal infantry from their ground , and were upon the point of gaining the victory, when the misconduct of Monmouth, and the cowardice of Lord Gray, who commanded the horse, brought all to ruin. This nobleman fled at the first onset, and the rebels being charged in flank by the victorious army, gave way, after a three hours' contest. About three hundred were killed in the engagement, and a thousand in the pursuit ; and thus ended an enterprise, rashly begun and more feebly conducted.

Monmouth fled from the field of battle above twenty miles, till his horse sunk under him. He then alighted , and exchanging clothes with a shepherd, fled on foot, attended by a German count, who had accompanied him from Holland. Being quite exhausted with hunger and fatigue, they both lay down in a field, and covered themselves with fern. The shepherd being found in Monmouth's clothes by the pursuers, increased the diligence of the search ; and by the means of blood-hounds, he was detected in this miserable situation, with raw pease in his pocket, which he had gathered in the fields to sustain life. He burst into tears when seized by his enemies, and petitioned, with the most abject submission, for life. He wrote the most submissive letters to the king ; and that monarch, willing to feast his eyes



with the miseries of a fallen enemy, gave him an audience. At this interview the duke fell upon his knees, and begged his life in the most abject terms. He even signed a paper, offered him by the king, declaring his own illegitimacy; and then the stern tyrant assured him, that his crime was of such a nature as could not be pardoned. The duke perceiving that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of his uncle, recollected his spirits, rose up, and retired with an air of disdain. He was followed to the scaffold with great compassion from the populace. He warned the executioner not to fall into the same error which he had committed in beheading Russel, where it had been necessary to redouble the blow. But this only increased the severity of the punishment; the man was seized with an universal trepidation, and he struck a feeble blow, upon which the duke raised his head from the block, as if to reproach him; he gently laid down his head a second time, and the executioner struck him again and again to no purpose. He at last threw the axe down; but the sheriff compelled him to resume the attempt, and at two blows more the head was severed from the body. Such was the end of James, duke of Monmouth, the darling of the English people. He was brave, sincere, and good-natured, open to flattery, and by that seduced into an enterprise which exceeded his capacity.

But it were well for the insurgents, and fortunate for the king, if the blood that was now shed had been thought a sufficient expiation for the late offence. The victorious army behaved with the most savage cruelty to the prisoners taken after the battle. Feversham, immediately after the victory,



hanged up above twenty prisoners. But the military severities of the commanders were still inferior to the legal slaughters, committed by judge Jefferies, who was sent down to try the delinquents. The natural brutality of this man's temper was inflamed by continual intoxication. He told the prisoners, that if they would save him the trouble of trying them, they might expect some favour, otherwise he would execute the law upon them with the utmost severity. Many poor wretches were thus allured into a confession, and found that it only hastened their destruction. No less than eighty were executed at Dorchester; and, on the whole, at Exeter, Taunton and Wells, two hundred and fifty - one are computed to have fallen by the hands of justice.

In ecclesiastical matters James proceeded with still greater injustice. Among those who distinguished themselves against popery was one doctor Sharpe, a clergyman of London, who declaimed with just severity against those who had changed their religion, by such arguments as the popish missionaries were able to produce. This being supposed to reflect upon the king, gave great offence at court; and positive orders were given to the bishop of London to suspend Sharpe till his majesty's pleasure should be farther known. The bishop refused to comply; and the king resolved to punish the bishop himself for disobedience. To effect his design, an ecclesiastical commission was issued out, by which seven commissioners were invested with a full and unlimited authority over the whole church of England. Before this tribunal the bishop was summoned, and not only he, but Sharpe, the pre-  
was suspended.



The next step was to allow a liberty of conscience to all sectaries; and he was taught to believe, that the truth of the catholic religion would then, upon a fair trial, gain the victory. He therefore issued a declaration of general indulgence, and asserted, that non-conformity to the established religion was no longer penal. And to complete his work, he publicly sent the earl of Castlemain ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to express his obedience to the pope, and to reconcile his kingdoms to the catholic communion. Never was there so much contempt thrown upon an embassy that was so boldly undertaken. The court of Rome expected but little success from measures so blindly conducted. They were sensible that the king was openly striking at those laws and opinions which it was his business to undermine in silence and security.

The Jesuits soon after were permitted to erect colleges in different parts of the kingdom; they exercised the catholic worship in the most public manner; and four catholic bishops, consecrated in the king's chapel, were sent through the kingdom to exercise their episcopal functions, under the title of apostolic vicars. Father Francis, a Benedictine monk, was recommended by the king to the university of Cambridge, for the degree of master of arts. But his religion was a stumbling-block which the university could not get over; and they presented a petition, beseeching the king to recall his mandate. Their petition was disregarded, their deputies denied a hearing; the vice-chancellor himself was summoned to appear before the high-commission court, and deprived of his office; yet the university



persisted, and father Francis was refused. The place of president of Magdalen college, Oxford, one of the richest foundations in Europe, being vacant, the king sent a mandate in favour of one Farmer, a new convert of popery, and a man of bad character in other respects. The fellows of the college made very submissive applications to the king for recalling his mandate; they refused admitting the candidate, and James finding them resolute in the defence of their privileges, ejected them all except two.

A. D.  
1688.

A second declaration for liberty of conscience was published almost in the same terms with the former; but with this peculiar injunction, that all divines should read it after service in their churches. The clergy were known universally to disapprove of these measures, and they were now resolved to disobey an order dictated by the most bigotted motives. The first champions on this service of danger were Lloyde, bishop of St. Asaph; Kenn, of Bath and Wells; Turner, of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; White, of Peterborough; and Trelawney, of Bristol; these, together with Sancroft, the primate, concerted an address, in the form of a petition, to the king, purporting that they could not read his declaration consistent with their consciences, or the respect they owed the protestant religion. The king in a fury summoned the bishops before the council, and there questioned them whether they would acknowledge their petition. They for some time declined giving an answer, but being urged by the chancellor, they at last owned it. On their refusal to give bail, an order was immediately drawn for



their commitment to the Tower, and the crown-lawyers received directions to prosecute them for a seditious libel.

The twenty-ninth day of June was fixed for their trial; and their return was more splendidly attended than their imprisonment. The cause was looked upon as involving the fate of the nation; and future freedom or future slavery, awaited the decision. The dispute was learnedly managed by the lawyers on both sides. Holloway and Powel, two of the judges, declared themselves in favour of the bishops. The jury withdrew into the chamber, where they passed the whole night; but the next morning they returned into court, and pronounced the bishops Not-guilty. Westminster-hall instantly rang with loud acclamations, which were communicated to the whole extent of the city. They even reached the camp at Hounslow, where the king was at dinner in lord Feversham's tent. His majesty demanding the cause of those rejoicings, and being informed that it was nothing but the soldiers shouting at the delivery of the bishops, « Call you that nothing, » cried he, « but so much the worse for them ! »

It was in this posture of affairs that all people turned their eyes upon William, prince of Orange, who had married Mary, the eldest daughter of king James. William was a prince who had, from his earliest entrance into business, been immersed in dangers, calamities, and politics. The ambition of France, and the jealousies of Holland, had served to sharpen his talents, and to give him a propensity to intrigue, and he now plainly saw that James had

A. D.  
1688.



incurred the most violent hatred of his subjects. He was minutely informed of their discontents; and, by seeming to discourage, still farther increased them, hoping to gain the kingdom for himself in the sequel.

The time when the prince entered upon his enterprise, was just when the people were in a flame upon this recent insult offered to their bishops. He had before this made considerable augmentations to the Dutch fleet, and the ships were then lying ready in the harbour. Some additional troops were also levied, and sums of money, raised for other purposes, were converted to the advancement of this expedition. So well concerted were his measures, that in three days above four hundred transports were hired; the army fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen, with all necessary stores; and the prince set sail from Helvoetsluys with a fleet of near five hundred vessels, and an army of above fourteen thousand men.

It was given out that this invasion was intended for the coasts of France; and many of the English who saw the fleet pass along their coasts, little expected to see it land on their own shores. Thus, after a voyage of two days, the prince landed his army at the village of Broxholme, in Torbay, on the fifth of November, which was the anniversary of the gunpowder-treason. But though the invitation from the English was very general, the prince, for some time, had the mortification to find himself joined by very few. He marched first to Exeter, where the country people had been so lately terrified with the executions which had ensued on Monmouth's rebellion, that they continued to observe



a strict neutrality. He remained for ten days in expectation of being joined by the malcontents, and at last began to despair of success. But just when he began to deliberate about reembarking his forces, he was joined by several persons of consequence, and soon after the whole country came flocking to his standard. The nobility, clergy, officers, and even the king's own servants and creatures, were unanimous in deserting James. Lord Churchill had been raised from the rank of a page, and had been invested with a high command in the army; had been created a peer, and owed his whole fortune to the king's bounty: even he deserted among the rest, and carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural son to the late king, colonel Berkeley, and some others.

The prince of Denmark, and Anne, his favourite daughter, perceiving the desperation of his circumstances, resolved to leave him, and take part with the prevailing side. When he was told that the prince and princess had followed the rest of his favourites, he was stung with the most bitter anguish. « God help me! » cried he, in the extremity of his agony, « my own children have forsaken me! » Alarmed every day more and more with the prospect of a general disaffection, he resolved to hearken to those who advised his quitting the kingdom, and first sending away the queen, who arrived safely at Calais, he himself soon after disappeared in the night time, attended only by Sir Edward Hales, a new convert; but was discovered and brought back by the mob.

But, shortly after, being confined at Rochester, and observing that he was entirely neglected by his



own subjects, he resolved to seek safety from the king of France, the only friend he had still remaining. He accordingly fled to the sea-side, attended by his natural son the duke of Berwick, where he embarked for the continent, and arrived in safety at Ambletense, in Picardy, from whence he hastened to the court of France, where he still enjoyed the empty title of a king, and the appellation of a saint, which flattered him more.

A. D.  
1689.

The king having thus abdicated the throne, the next consideration was the appointing a successor. Some declared for a regent; others, that the princess of Orange should be invested with regal power, and the young prince considered as suppositious. After a long debate in both houses, a new sovereign was preferred to a regent, by a majority of two voices. It was agreed, that the prince and princess of Orange should reign jointly as king and queen of England, while the administration of government should be placed in the hands of the prince only.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

WILLIAM III.

A. D. 1689-1702.

**W**ILLIAM was no sooner elected to the throne, than he began to experience the difficulty of governing a people, who were more ready to examine the commands of their superiors than to obey them.



His reign commenced with an attempt similar to that which had been the principal cause of all the disturbances in the preceding reign, and which had excluded the monarch from the throne. William was a Calvinist, and consequently averse to persecution; he therefore began by attempting to repeal those laws that enjoined uniformity of worship; and though he could not entirely succeed, a toleration was granted to such dissenters as should take the oaths of allegiance, and hold no private conventicles.

In the mean-time James, whose authority was still acknowledged in Ireland, embarked at Brest for that kingdom, and on May 22, arrived at Kinsale. He soon after made his public entry into Dublin, and found the appearance of things in that country equal to his most sanguine expectations. Tyrconnel, the lord-lieutenant, was devoted to his interests; his old army was steady, and a new one raised, amounting together to near forty thousand men.

As soon as the season would permit, he went to lay siege to Londonderry, a town of small importance in itself, but rendered famous by the stand which it made on this occasion. The besieged endured the most poignant sufferings from fatigue and famine, until at last relieved by a store-ship, that happily broke the boom laid across the river to prevent a supply. The joy of the inhabitants at this unexpected relief, was only equalled by the rage and disappointment of the besiegers. The army of James was so dispirited by this enterprise, that they abandoned the siege in the night; and retired with precipitation, after having lost above nine thousand men before the place.



A. D.  
1690.

It was upon the opposite banks of the river Boyne that both armies came in sight of each other. The river at this place was not so deep but that men might wade over on foot; but the banks were rugged, and rendered dangerous by old houses and ditches, which served to defend the latent enemy. While William, who headed the protestant army, was riding along the side of the river, in sight of both armies, to make proper observations upon the plan of battle, being perceived by the enemy, a cannon was privately brought out, and fired. The shot killed several of his followers, and he himself was wounded in the shoulder.

Early the next morning, at six o'clock, king William gave orders to force a pass over the river. This the army undertook in three different places; and after a furious cannonading, the battle began with unusual vigour. The Irish troops, after an obstinate resistance, fled with precipitation, leaving the French and Swiss regiments, who came to their assistance, to make the best retreat they could. William led on his horse in person: and contributed, by his activity and vigilance, to secure the victory. James was not in the battle, but stood aloof, during the action on the hill of Dunmore, surrounded with some squadrons of horse; and at intervals was heard to exclaim, when he saw his own troops repulsing those of the enemy, « O spare my English subjects. » The Irish lost about fifteen hundred men, and the Protestants about one-third of that number. The victory was splendid, and almost decisive: but the death of the duke of Schomberg, who was shot as he was crossing

crossing



crossing the water, seemed to outweigh the whole loss sustained by the enemy.

The last battle fought in favour of James was at Aughrim. The enemy fought with surprising fury, and the horse were several times repulsed; but the English wading through the middle of a bog, up to the waist in mud, and rallying with some difficulty on the firm ground on the other side, renewed the combat with great fury. St. Ruth, the Irish general, being killed by a cannon-ball, his troops gave way on all sides, and retreated to Limerick, where they resolved to make a final stand, after having lost above five thousand of the flower of their army. Limerick, the last retreat of the Irish forces, made a brave defence; but soon seeing the enemy advanced within ten paces of the bridge-foot, and perceiving themselves surrounded on all sides, they determined to capitulate; a negotiation was immediately began, and hostilities ceased on both sides. The Roman catholics, by this capitulation, were restored to the enjoyment of those liberties in the exercise of their religion, which they had possessed in the reign of king Charles the second. All persons were indulged with free leave to remove, with their families and effects, to any other country, except England and Scotland. In consequence of this about fourteen thousand of those who had fought for king James went over into France, having transports provided by government for conveying them thither.

James was now reduced to the lowest ebb of despondence; his designs upon England were quite frustrated,

A. D.  
1691.



so that nothing was left his friends, but the hopes of assassinating the monarch upon the throne. These base attempts, as barbarous as they were useless, were not entirely disagreeable to the temper of James. It is said he encouraged and proposed them; but they only ended in the destruction of the undertakers. From that time, till he died, which was about seven years, he continued to reside at St. Germain's, a pensioner on the bounties of Lewis, and assisted by occasional liberalities from his daughter and friends in England. He died on the sixteenth day of September, in the year 1700, after having laboured under a tedious sickness; and many miracles, as the people thought, were wrought at his tomb. Indeed, the latter part of his life was calculated to inspire the superstitious with reverence for his piety; he subjected himself to acts of uncommon penance and mortification; he frequently visited the poor monks of La Trappe, who were edified by his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary temper seemed to have vanished with his greatness; he became affable, kind, and easy to all his dependents; and in his last illness conjured his son to prefer religion to every worldly advantage, a counsel which that prince strictly obeyed. He died with great marks of devotion, and was interred, at his own request, in the church of the English Benedictines at Paris, without any funeral solemnity.

William, upon accepting of the crown, was resolved to preserve that share of prerogative which was still left him. But at length became fatigued with opposing the laws which parliament every day were laying round his authority, and gave up the



contest. He admitted every restraint upon the prerogative in England, upon condition of being properly supplied with the means of humbling the power of France. War and the balance of power in Europe, were all he knew, or, indeed, desired to understand: provided the parliament furnished him with supplies for these purposes, he permitted them to rule the internal polity at their pleasure. For the prosecution of the war with France, the nation not contented with furnishing him such sums of money as they were capable of raising by the taxes of the year, mortgaged these taxes, and involved themselves in what is now called the national debt. England received in return the empty reward of military glory in Flanders, and the consciousness of having given their allies, particularly the Dutch, frequent opportunities of being ungrateful.

The war with France continued during the greatest part of this king's reign; but at length the treaty of Ryswick put an end to those contentions, in which England had engaged without policy, and came off without advantage. In the general pacification, her interests seemed entirely deserted; and for all the treasures she had sent to the continent, and all the blood which she had shed there, the only equivalent she received was, an acknowledgment of king William's title from the king of France.

William was naturally of a very feeble constitution, and it was by this time almost exhausted by a series of continual disquietude and action. He had endeavoured to repair his constitution, or, at least, to conceal its decays, by exercise and riding. On

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the twenty-first day of February, in riding to Hampton-court from Kensington, his horse fell under him, and he was thrown with such violence that his collarbone was fractured. His attendants conveyed him to the palace of Hampton-court, where the fracture was reduced, and in the evening he returned to Kensington in his coach. The jolting of the carriage disunited the fracture once more, and the bones were again replaced under Bidloo, his physician. This, in a robust constitution, would have been a trifling misfortune, but in him it was fatal. For some time he appeared in a fair way of recovery; but falling asleep on his couch, he was seized with a shivering, which terminated in a fever and diarrhœa, which soon became dangerous and desperate. Perceiving his end approaching, the objects of his former care lay still next his heart, and the fate of Europe seemed to remove the sensations he might be supposed to feel for his own. The earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, he conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad, and two days after, he expired in the fifty-second year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

A N N E.

A. D. 1702-1714.

**A**NNE, married to prince George of Denmark, ascended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of her age, to the general satisfaction of all parties.



She was the second daughter of king James, by his first wife the daughter of chancellor Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon. Upon coming to the crown, she determined to declare war against France, and communicated her intention to the house of commons, by whom it was approved. And was seconded by similar declarations by the Dutch and Germans, all on the same day. The French monarch could not suppress his anger at such a combination, but his chief resentment fell upon the Dutch. He declared, with great emotion, that as for those gentlemen pedlars, the Dutch, they should one day repent their insolence and presumption, in declaring war against one, whose power they had formerly felt and dreaded. However the affairs of the allies were no way influenced by his threats. The duke of Marlborough had his views gratified, in being appointed general of the English forces, and he was still farther flattered by the Dutch, who, though the earl of Athlone had a right to share the command, appointed Marlborough generalissimo of the allied army. And it must be confessed, that few men shone more, either in debate or action, than he; serene in the midst of danger, and indefatigable in the cabinet, so that he became the most formidable enemy to France that England had produced, since the conquering times of Crecy and Azincourt.

A great part of the history of this reign consists in battles fought upon the continent, which, though of very little advantage to the interests of the nation, were very great additions to its honour. These triumphs, it is true, are passed away, and nothing remains of them but the names of Blenheim, Ra-



milies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, where the allied army gained decisive victories. But a conquest of much greater national importance was gained with less expence of blood and treasure in Spain. The ministry of England understanding that the French were employed in equipping a strong squadron in Brest, sent out Sir Cloudesly Shovel and Sir George Rooke, to watch their motions. Sir George, however, had farther orders to convoy a body of forces in transport-ships to Barcelona, upon which a fruitless attack was made by the prince of Hesse. Finding no hopes, therefore, from this expedition, in two days the troops were re-imbarked, and Sir George Rooke, joined by Sir Cloudesly, called a council of war on board the fleet, as they lay off the coast of Africa. In this they resolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar, a city then belonging to the Spaniards, at that time ill-provided with a garrison, as neither expecting nor fearing such an attempt.

The town of Gibraltar stands upon a tongue of land, as the mariners call it, and defended by a rock inaccessible on every side but one. The prince of Hesse landed his troops to the number of eighteen hundred, on the continent adjoining, and summoned the town to surrender, but without effect. Next day the admiral gave orders for cannonading the town; and perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications, at a place called the South Mole-head, ordered captain Whitaker to arm all the boats and assault that quarter. Those officers who happened to be nearest the Mole, immediately manned their boats without orders, and entered the fortification sword in hand. But they were premature, for the Spaniards sprung a mine, by which two



lieutenants and about one hundred men were killed and wounded. Nevertheless, the two captains Hicks and Jumper, took possession of a platform, and kept their ground, until they were sustained by captain Whitaker, and the rest of the seamen, who took a redoubt between the Mole and the town by storm. Then the governor capitulated, and the prince of Hesse entered the place, amazed at the success of the attempt, considering the strength of the fortifications. When the news of this conquest was brought to England, it was for some time in debate whether it was a capture worth thanking the admiral for. It was at last considered as unworthy public gratitude; and while the duke of Marlborough was extolled for useless services, Sir George Rook was left to neglect, and soon displaced from his command, for having so essentially served his country. A striking instance, that even in the most enlightened age, popular applause is most usually misplaced. Gibraltar has ever since remained in the possession of the English, and continues of the utmost use in refitting that part of the navy destined to annoy an enemy, or protect our trade in the Mediterranean.

While the English were thus victorious by land and sea, a new scene of contention was opened on the side of Spain, where the ambition of the European princes exerted itself with the same fury that had filled the rest of the continent. Philip the fourth, grandson of Lewis the fourteenth, had been placed upon the throne of that kingdom, and had been received with the joyful concurrence of the greatest part of his subjects. He had also been nominated successor to that crown by the late king of Spain's



will. But in a former treaty among the powers of Europe, Charles, son of the emperor of Germany, was appointed heir to that crown; and this treaty had been guaranteed by France herself, though she now resolved to reverse that consent in favour of a descendant of the house of Bourbon. Charles was still farther led on to put in for the crown of Spain by the invitation of the Catalonians, who declared in his favour, and by the assistance of the English and the Portuguese, who promised to arm in his cause. He was furnished with two hundred transports, thirty ships of war, and nine thousand men, for the conquest of that extensive empire. But the earl of Peterborough, a man of romantic bravery, offered to conduct them, and his single service was thought equivalent to armies.

The earl of Peterborough was one of the most singular and extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. When yet but fifteen he fought against the Moors in Africa; at twenty he assisted at compassing the Revolution, and he now carried on the war in Spain almost at his own expence; his friendship for the duke Charles being one of his chief motives to this great undertaking. He was deformed in his person, but of a mind the most generous, honourable, and active. His first attempt upon landing in Spain was the taking Barcelona, a strong city, with a garrison of five thousand men, while his own army amounted to little more than nine thousand.

These successes, however, were but of short continuance; Peterborough being recalled, and the army under Charles being commanded by the lord Galway. This nobleman having received intelligence



that the enemy, under the command of the duke of Berwick, was posted near the town of Almanza, he advanced thither to give them battle. The conflict began about two in the afternoon, and the whole front of each army was fully engaged. The centre, consisting chiefly of battalions from Great Britain and Holland, seemed at first victorious; but the Portuguese horse, by whom they were supported, betaking themselves to flight on the first charge, the English troops were flanked and surrounded on every side. In this dreadful emergency, they formed themselves into a square, and retired to an eminence, where, being ignorant of the country, and destitute of all supplies, they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, to the number of ten thousand men. This victory was complete and decisive; and all Spain except the province of Catalonia, returned to their duty to Philip their sovereign.

The councils of the queen had hitherto been governed by a Whig ministry; for though the duke of Marlborough had first started in the Tory interest, he soon joined the opposite faction, as he found them most sincere in their desires to humble the power of France. The Whigs, therefore, still pursued the schemes of the late king; and strove to humble despotism in every part of Europe. In a government where the reasoning of individuals retired from power, generally leads those who command, the designs of the ministry must alter as the people happen to change. The people in fact were beginning to change. But previous to the disgrace of the Whig-ministry, whose fall was now hastening, a measure of the greatest importance



took place in parliament: the union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; which, though they were governed by one sovereign since the accession of James the first, yet were still ruled by their respective parliaments, and often pursued opposite interests and different designs.

The attempt for an union began at the commencement of this reign; but some disputes arising relative to the trade to the East, the conference was broke up, and it was thought that an adjustment would be impossible. It was revived by an act in either parliament, granting power to commissioners named on the part of both nations, to treat on the preliminary articles of an union, which should afterwards undergo a more thorough discussion by the legislative body of both kingdoms. The choice of these commissioners was left to the queen; and she took care that none should be employed, but such as heartily wished to promote so desirable a measure. The commissioners met in the council-chamber of the Cockpit, near Whitehall, which was the place appointed for their conferences. As the queen frequently exhorted them to dispatch, the articles of this famous union were soon agreed to, and signed, and it only remained to lay them before the parliaments of both nations.

In this famous treaty it was stipulated, that the succession to the united kingdoms should be vested in the house of Hanover; that the united kingdoms should be represented by one and the same parliament; that all the subjects of Great-Britain should enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages; that they should have the same allowances and privileges with respect to the commerce and customs;



that the laws concerning public right, civil government, and policy, should be the same throughout the two united kingdoms; but that no alteration should be made in laws which concerned private right, except for the evident benefit of the subjects of Scotland; that the courts of session, and all other courts of judicature in Scotland, should remain as then constituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the same authority and privileges as before the union; that Scotland should be represented in the parliament of Great-Britain by sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, to be elected in such a manner as should be settled by the present parliament of Scotland: that all peers of Scotland should be considered as peers of Great-Britain, and rank immediately after the English peers of the like degree, at the time of the union, and before such as should be created after it; that they should enjoy all the privileges of English peers, except that of sitting and voting in parliament, or sitting upon the trial of peers; that all the insignia of royalty and government should remain as they were; that all laws and statutes in either kingdom, so far as they might be inconsistent with the terms of these articles, should cease, and be declared void by the respective parliaments of the two kingdoms. These were the principal articles of the union; and it only remained to obtain the sanction of the legislature of both kingdoms to give them authority.

The arguments in these different assemblies were suited to the audience. To induce the Scottish parliament to come into the measure, it was alledged that an entire and perfect union would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace. It would secure their



religion, liberty, and property, remove the animosities that prevailed among themselves, and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations. It would increase their strength, riches, and commerce; the whole island would be joined in affection, and freed from all apprehensions of different interests. It would be enabled to resist all its enemies, support the protestant interests, and maintain the liberties of Europe. It was observed, that the less the wheels of government were clogged by a multiplicity of councils, the more vigorous would be their exertions. They were shewn that the taxes which in consequence of this union, they were to pay, were by no means so proportionably great as their share in the legislature. That their taxes did not amount to a seventieth part of those supplied by the English: and yet their share in the legislature was not a tenth part less. Such were the arguments in favour of the union, addressed to the Scottish parliament. In the English houses it was observed, that a powerful and dangerous nation would thus for ever be prevented from giving them any disturbance; that, in case of any future rupture, England had everything to lose and nothing to gain against a nation that was courageous and poor.

On the other hand, the Scots were fired with indignation at the thoughts of losing their ancient and independent government. The nobility found themselves degraded in point of dignity and influence, by being excluded from their seats in parliament. The trading part of the nation beheld their commerce loaded with heavy duties, and considered their new privilege of trading to the English plantations in the West Indies as a very uncertain ad-



vantage. In the English houses, also; it was observed, that the union of a rich with a poor nation would always be beneficial to the latter, and that the former could only hope for a participation of their necessities. It was said that the Scots reluctantly yielded to this coalition, and that it might be likened to a marriage with a woman against her consent. It was supposed to be an union made up of so many unmatched pieces, and such incongruous ingredients, that it could never take effect. It was complained, that the proportion of the land-tax paid by the Scots was small, and unequal to their share in the legislature. At length, notwithstanding all opposition made by the Tories, every article of the union was approved by a great majority in both parliaments. Thus all were obliged to acquiesce in an union of which they at first had not sagacity to distinguish the advantages.

In the mean-time the Whig-ministry was every day declining. Among the number of those whom the duchess of Marlborough had introduced to the queen, to contribute to her private amusement, was one Mrs. Masham, her own kinswoman, whom she had raised from indigence and obscurity. The duchess having gained the ascendant over the queen, became petulant and insolent, and relaxed in those arts by which she had risen. Mrs. Masham, who had her fortune to make, was more humble and assiduous; she flattered the foibles of the queen, and assented to her prepossessions and prejudices. She soon saw the queen's inclination to the Tory set of opinions, their divine right, and passive obedience; and instead of attempting to thwart her, as the duchess had done, she joined in with her partiality,



and even outwent her in her own way. This lady was, in fact, the tool of Mr. Harley, secretary of state, who also some time before had insinuated himself into queen's good graces, and who determined to sap the credit of the Whig-ministers. His aim was to unite the Tory interest under his own shelter, and to expel the Whigs from the advantages which they had long enjoyed under government. In his career of ambition he chose for his coadjutor Henry St. John, afterwards the famous lord Bolingbroke, a man of great eloquence, and greater ambition, enterprising, restless, active, and haughty, with some wit, and little principle. To this Junto was added Sir Simon Harcourt, a lawyer, a man of great abilities.

It was now perceived, that the people themselves began to be weary of the Whig-ministry, whom they formerly caressed. To them they imputed the burthens under which they groaned, and which they had been hitherto animated to bear by the pomp of triumphs. Harley, afterwards known by the title of lord Oxford, was at the bottom of these complaints: and though they produced a growing and steady operation, at length the Whig part of the ministry opened their eyes to the intrigues of the Tories, but they had entirely lost the confidence of the queen. Harley soon threw off the mask of friendship, and took more vigorous measures for the prosecution of his designs. In him the queen reposed all her trust, though he had now no visible concern in the administration. The first triumph of the Tories, in which the queen discovered a public partiality in their favour, was seen in a transaction of no great importance in itself,



but from the consequences it produced. The parties of the nation were eager to engage, and they wanted but the watch-word to begin. This was given by a man neither of abilities, property, nor power, but accidentally brought forward on this occasion.

Henry Sacheverell was a clergyman bred at Oxford, of narrow intellects, and an over-heated imagination. He had acquired some popularity among those who had distinguished themselves by the name of high-churchmen, and had taken all occasions to vent his animosity against the dissenters. At the summer assizes at Derby he held forth in that strain before the judges. On the fifth of November, in St. Paul's church, he, in a violent declamation, defended the doctrine of non-resistance, inveighed against the toleration of dissenters, declared the church was dangerously attacked by its enemies, and slightly defended by its false friends. Sir Samuel Gerrard, lord-mayor, countenanced this harangue, which, though very weak both in the matter and style, was published under his protection, and extolled by the Tories as a master-piece of writing.

Mr. Dolben, son to the archbishop of York, laid a complaint before the house of commons against these rhapsodies, and thus gave force to what would have soon been forgotten. The most violent paragraphs were read, and the sermons voted scandalous and seditious libels. Sacheverell was brought to the bar of the house; and he, far from disowning the writing of them, gloried in what he had done, and mentioned the encouragement he had received to publish them from the lord-



mayor, who was then present. Being ordered to withdraw, it was resolved to impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanors at the bar of the house of lords; and Mr. Dolben was fixed upon to conduct the prosecution, in the name of the commons of all England. A committee was appointed to draw up articles of impeachment; Sacheverell was taken into custody, and a day was appointed for his trial before the lords in Westminster-hall.

The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this very extraordinary trial, which lasted three weeks, and excluded all other public business for the time. The queen herself was every day present as a private spectator, while vast multitudes attended the culprit each day as he went to the hall, shouting as he passed, or silently praying for his success. The managers for the commons were Sir Joseph Jekyl, Mr. Eyre, solicitor-general, Sir Peter King, recorder, general Stanhope, Sir Thomas Parker, and Mr. Walpole. The doctor was defended by Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. Phipps, and assisted by doctor Atterbury, doctor Smallridge, and doctor Friend. While the trial continued, nothing could exceed the violence and outrage of the populace. They surrounded the queen's sedan, exclaiming, « God bless your majesty and the church, we hope your majesty is for doctor Sacheverell. » They destroyed several meeting-houses, plundered the dwellings of many eminent dissenters, and even proposed to attack the bank. The queen, in compliance with the request of the commons, published a proclamation for suppressing the tumults: and several persons being apprehended, were tried for high-treason.



Two were convicted, and sentenced to die, but neither suffered.

When the commons had gone through their charge, the managers for Sacheverell undertook his defence with great art and eloquence. He afterwards recited a speech himself, which, from the difference between it and his sermons, seems evidently the work of another. In this he solemnly justified his intentions towards the queen and her government. He spoke in the most respectful terms of the Revolution, and the protestant succession. He maintained the doctrine of non-resistance as a tenet of the church, in which he was brought up; and in a pathetic conclusion endeavoured to excite the pity of his audience. At length he was found guilty by a majority of seventeen voices; but no less than four and thirty peers entered a protest against this decision. He was prohibited from preaching for three years; and his two sermons were ordered to be burned by the common hangman, in the presence of the lord-mayor and the two sheriffs. The lenity of this sentence, which was, in a great measure, owing to the dread of popular resentment, was considered by the Tories as a triumph, and now the queen thought proper to summon a new parliament, and being a friend to the Tories herself, she gave the people an opportunity of indulging themselves in choosing representatives to their mind. In fact, very few were returned but such as had distinguished themselves in their zeal against the Whig administration.

In the mean-time the campaign in Flanders was conducted with the most brilliant success. The duke of Marlborough had every motive to continue the



war, as it gratified not only his ambition, but his avarice, a passion that obscured his shining abilities. The king of France appeared extremely desirous of a peace, and resolved to solicit a conference. He employed one Petkum, resident of the duke of Holstein at the Hague, to negotiate upon this subject; and he ventured also to solicit the duke himself in private. A conference was at length begun at Gertruydenburgh, under the influence of Marlborough, Eugene, and Zinzendorf, who were all three, from private motives, entirely averse to the treaty; upon this occasion, the French ministers were subjected to every species of mortification. Spies were placed upon all their conduct. Their master was insulted, and their letters were opened; till at last Lewis resolved to hazard another campaign.

It was only by insensible degrees that the queen seemed to acquire courage enough to second her inclinations, and depose a ministry that had long been disagreeable to her. Harley, who still shared her confidence, did not fail to inculcate the popularity, the justice, and the security of such a measure; and, in confidence of his advice, she began the changes by transferring the post of lord-chamberlain from the duke of Kent to the duke of Shrewsbury who had lately voted with the Tories, and maintained an intimate correspondence with Mr. Harley. Soon after, the earl of Sunderland, secretary of state, and son-in-law to the duke of Marlborough, was displaced, and the earl of Dartmouth put in his room. The earl of Godolphin was divested of his office, and the treasury put in commission, subjected to the di-



rection of Harley who was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and under-treasurer. The earl of Rochester was declared president of the council in the room of lord Somers. The staff of lord steward being taken from the duke of Devonshire, was given to the duke of Buckingham; and Mr. Boyle was removed from the secretary's office to make way for Mr. Henry St. John. The lord chancellor having resigned the great seal, it was first put in commission, and then given to Sir Simon Harcourt. The earl of Wharton surrendered his commission as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and that employment was conferred upon the duke of Ormond. Mr. George Granville was appointed secretary at war, in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole; and, in a word, there was not one Whig left in any office of the state except the duke of Marlborough.

But the triumph was not yet complete, until the parliament was brought to confirm and approve the queen's choice. The queen in her speech recommended the prosecution of the war with vigour. The parliament were ardent in their expressions of zeal and unanimity. They exhorted her to discountenance all such principles and measures, as had lately threatened her royal crown and dignity. This was but an opening to what soon after followed. The duke of Marlborough, who but a few months before had been so highly extolled and caressed by the representatives of the people was now become the object of their hatred and reproach. His avarice was justly upbraided; his protracting the war was said to arise from that motive. Instances were every where given of his fraud and extortion. These might be true, but party had no



moderation , for even his courage and conduct were called in question. To mortify the duke still more , the thanks of the house of commons were voted to the earl of Peterborough for his services in Spain , while they were refused to the duke for those in Flanders ; and the lord keeper , who delivered them to Peterborough , took occasion to drop some reflections against the mercenary disposition of his rival.

Nothing now , therefore , remained of the Whig-system , upon which this reign was begun , but the war , which continued to rage as fierce as ever , and which increased in expence every year as it went on. It was the resolution of the present ministry to put an end to it at any rate , and it only remained to remove the duke of Marlborough from his post , as he would endeavour to traverse all their negociations. But here again a difficulty started ; this step could not be taken without giving offence to the Dutch , who placed entire confidence in him ; they were obliged , therefore , to wait for some convenient occasion. Upon his return from this campaign he was accused of having taken a bribe of six thousand pounds a year from a Jew , who contracted to supply the army with bread ; and the queen thought proper to dismiss him from all his employments. This was the pretext made use of , though his fall had been predetermined , and though his receiving such a bribe was not the real cause of his removal , yet candour must confess that it ought to have been so.

In the mean-time Prior , much more famous as a poet than a statesman , was sent over with proposals to France ; and Menager , a man of no great station , returned with Prior to London , with full



powers to treat upon the preliminaries ; but the great difficulty still was to make the terms of peace agreeable to all the confederates. The earl of Strafford , who had been lately recalled from the Hague , where he resided as ambassador , was now sent back to Holland , with orders to communicate to the pensionary Heinsius the preliminary proposals , to signify the queen's approbation of them , and to propose a place where the plenipotentiaries should assemble. The Dutch were very averse to begin the conference upon the inspection of the preliminaries. They sent over an envoy to attempt to turn the queen from her resolution , but finding their efforts vain , they fixed upon Utrecht as the place of general conference , and granted passports to the French ministers accordingly.

The conferences began at Utrecht under the conduct of Robinson bishop of Bristol , lord privy seal , and the earl of Strafford , on the side of the English ; of Buys and Vanderdussen on the part of the Dutch , and of the mareschal d'Uxelles , the cardinal Polignac , and Mr. Menager , in behalf of France. The ministers of the emperor and Savoy assisted , and the other allies sent also plenipotentiaries , though with the utmost reluctance. As England and France were the only two powers that were seriously inclined to peace , all the other deputies met only to start new difficulties and widen the breach. The English ministers , therefore , set on foot a private negociation with France. They stipulated certain advantages for the subjects of Great-Britain in a concerted plan of peace , and resolved to enter into such mutual confidence with the French , as would anticipate all clanc



destine transactions to the prejudice of the coalition.

A. D.  
1712.

A. D. 1712. In the beginning of August, secretary St. John, who had been created lord viscount Bolingbroke, was sent to the court of Versailles to remove all obstructions to the separate treaty. He was accompanied by Mr. Prior and the abbe Gualtier, and treated with the most distinguished marks of respect. He was caressed by the French king, and the marquis de Torcy, with whom he adjusted the principal interests of the duke of Savoy and the elector of Bavaria. And at length the treaties of peace and commerce between England and France being agreed on by the plenipotentiaries on either side, and ratified by the queen, she acquainted her parliament of the steps she had taken.

The first stipulation of this famous treaty was, that Philip, now acknowledged king of Spain, should renounce all right to the crown of France, the union of two such powerful kingdoms being thought dangerous to the liberties of Europe. It was agreed, that the duke of Berry, Philip's brother, and after him in succession, should also renounce his right to the crown of Spain, in case he became king of France. It was stipulated, that the duke of Savoy should possess the island of Sicily, with the title of king, together with Fenestrelles, and other places on the continent, which increase of dominion was in some measure made out of the spoils of the French monarchy. The Dutch had that barrier granted them, which they so long sought after; and if the crown of France was deprived of some dominions to enrich the duke



of Savoy, on the other hand the house of Austria was taxed to supply the wants of the Hollanders, who were put in possession of the strongest towns in Flanders. With regard to England, its glory and its interests were secured. The fortifications of Dunkirk, an harbour that might be dangerous to their trade in time of war, were ordered to be demolished, and its port destroyed. Spain gave up all right to Gibraltar, and the island of Minorca. France resigned her pretensions to Hudson's-bay, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland: but they were left in possession of Cape Breton and the liberty of drying their fish upon the shore. Among these articles glorious to the English nation, their setting free the French protestants confined in the prisons and gallies for their religion, was not the least meritorious. For the emperor, it was stipulated, that he should possess the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands. The king of Prussia was to have Upper Guelder, and a time was fixed for the emperor's acceding to those articles, as he had for some time obstinately refused to assist at the negociation. Thus Europe seemed to be formed into one great republic, the different members of which were cantoned out to different governors, and the ambition of any one state, amenable to the tribunal of all. The English ministry certainly did justice to all the world; but their country denied that justice to them.

But while the Whigs were attacking the Tory ministers from without, these were in much greater danger from their own internal dissensions. Lord Oxford and lord Bolingbroke, though they had started with the same principles and designs,



yet having vanquished other opposers, now began to form separate interests, and to adopt different principles. Oxford's plan was the more moderate; Bolingbroke's the more vigorous, but the more secure. Oxford, it is thought, was entirely for the Hanoverian succession; Bolingbroke had some hopes of bringing in the Pretender. But though they hated each other most sincerely, yet they were for awhile kept together by the good offices of their friends and adherents, who had the melancholy prospect of seeing the citadel of their hopes, while openly besieged from without, secretly undermining within.

This was a mortifying prospect to the Tories; but it was more particularly displeasing to the queen, who daily saw her favourite ministry declining, while her own health was now quite broken. One fit of sickness succeeded another, and was heightened by the anxiety of her mind. These dissensions had such an effect upon her spirits and constitution, that she declared she could not outlive it, and immediately sunk into a state of lethargic insensibility. Notwithstanding all the medicines which the physicians could prescribe, the distemper gained ground so fast, that they despaired of her life, and the privy-council was assembled on the occasion.

All the members, without distinction, being summoned from the different parts of the kingdom, began to provide for the security of the constitution. They sent a letter to the elector of Hanover, informing him of the queen's desperate situation, and desiring him to repair to Holland, where he would be attended by a British squadron to convey



vey him to England. At the same time they dispatched instructions to the earl of Strafford at the Hague , to desire the states-general to be ready to perform the guaranty of the Protestant succession. Precautions were taken to secure the sea - ports ; and the command of the fleet was bestowed upon the earl of Berkeley , a professed Whig. These measures , which were all dictated by that party , answered a double end. It argued their own alacrity in the cause of their new sovereign , and seemed to imply a danger to the state from the disaffection of the opposite interest.

On the thirtieth of July 1714 , the queen seemed somewhat relieved by medicines , rose from her bed about eight o'clock , and walked a little. After some time , casting her eyes on a clock that stood in her chamber , she continued to gaze at it for some minutes. One of the ladies in waiting asked her what she saw there more than usual ; to which the queen only answered , by turning her eyes upon her with a dying look. She was soon after seized with a fit of apoplexy ; she continued all night in a state of stupefaction , and expired the following morning , in the forty-ninth year of her age. She reigned more than twelve years , over a people who were now risen to the highest pitch of refinement ; who had attained by their wisdom all the advantages of opulence , and by their valour all the happiness of security and conquest.



## CHAPTER XXXIV.

GEORGE I.

A. D. 1714-1727.

PURSUANT to the act of succession, George the first, son of Ernest Augustus, first elector of Brunswick, and the princess Sophia, grand-daughter to James the first, ascended the British throne. His mature age, he being now fifty-four years old, his sagacity and experience, his numerous alliances, the general tranquillity of Europe, all contributed to establish his interests, and to promise him a peaceable and happy reign. His abilities, though not shining, were solid; he was of a very different disposition to the Stuart family, whom he succeeded. These were known to a proverb, for leaving their friends in extremity; George, on the contrary, soon after his arrival in England, was heard to say, « My maxim is, never to abandon my friends; to do justice to all the world; and to fear no man. » To these qualifications of resolution and perseverance, he joined great application to business. However, one fault with respect to England remained behind; he studied the interests of those subjects he had left, more than those he came to govern.

The queen had no sooner resigned her breath, than the privy-council met, and three instruments were produced, by which the elector appointed several of his known adherents to be added as



Lords Justices to seven great offices of the kingdom. Orders also were immediately issued out for proclaiming George king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The regency appointed the earl of Dorset to carry him the intimation of his accession to the crown, and to attend him on his journey to England. They sent the general officers, in whom they could confide, to their posts; they reinforced the garrison of Portsmouth, and appointed the celebrated Mr. Addison, secretary of state. To mortify the late ministry the more, lord Bolingbroke was obliged to wait every morning in the passage among the servants with his bag of papers, where there were persons purposely placed to insult and deride him. No tumult appeared, no commotion arose against the accession of the new king, and this gave a strong proof that no rational measures were ever taken to obstruct his exaltation.

When he first landed at Greenwich, he was received by the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guards, and the lords of the regency. When he retired to his bedchamber he then sent for such of the nobility as had distinguished themselves by their zeal for his succession. But the duke of Ormond, the lord chancellor, and the lord treasurer, found themselves excluded. The king of a faction is but the sovereign of half his subjects. Of this, however, the new-elected monarch did not seem sensible. It was his misfortune, and consequently that of the nation, that he was hemmed round by men, who soured him with all their own interests and prejudices. None now but the leaders of a party were admitted into employment. The Whigs, while they pretended to secure the crown for their king,



were, with all possible arts, confirming their own interests, extending their connexions, and giving laws to their sovereign. An instantaneous and total change was made in all the offices of trust, honour, or advantage. The Whigs governed the senate and the court; whom they would, they oppressed; bound the lower orders of people with severe laws, and kept them at a distance by vile distinctions, and then taught them to call this Liberty.

These partialities soon raised discontents among the people, and the king's attachment considerably increased the malcontents through all the kingdom. The clamour of the church's being in danger was revived, and the people only seemed to want a leader to incite them into insurrection. Birmingham, Bristol, Norwich, and Reading, still remembered the spirit with which they had declared for Sacheverell; and now the cry was, Down with the Whigs and Sacheverell for ever.

A. D.

1714.

Upon the first meeting of the new parliament, in which the Whigs, with the king at their head, were predominant, nothing was expected but the most violent measures against the late ministry, nor were these expectations disappointed. The lords professed their hopes that the king would be able to recover the reputation of the kingdom on the continent, the loss of which they affected to deplore. The commons declared their resolution to trace out those measures by which the country was depressed: to punish those abettors on whom the Pretender seemed to ground his hopes.

It was the artifice, during this and the succeeding reign, to stigmatize all those who testified their dis-



content against government, as Papists and Jacobites. All who ventured to speak against the violence of their measures, were reproached as designing to bring in the Pretender; and most people were consequently afraid to murmur, since discontent was so near a-kin to treason. The people, therefore, beheld the violence of their conduct without daring to avow their detestation.

A committee was appointed, consisting of twenty persons, to inspect all the papers relative to the late negociation for peace, and to pick out such of them as might serve as subjects of accusation against the late ministry. After some time spent in this disquisition, Mr. Walpole, as chairman of the committee, declared to the house that a report was drawn up; and in the mean time, moved, that a warrant might be issued for apprehending Mr. Matthew Prior, and Mr. Thomas Harley, who being in the house, were immediately taken into custody. He then impeached lord Bolingbroke of high-treason. This struck some of the members with amazement: but they were still more astonished, when lord Coningsby rising up was heard to say, « The worthy  
» chairman has impeached the hand, but I impeach  
» the head; he has impeached the scholar, and I the  
» master. I impeach Robert, earl of Oxford and  
» Mortimer, of high-treason, and other crimes and  
» misdemeanors. »

When lord Oxford appeared in the house of lords, the day following, he was avoided by the peers as infectious; and he had now an opportunity of discovering the baseness of mankind. When the articles were read against him in the house of commons, a warm debate arose upon that in which he was char-



ged with having advised the French king of the manner of gaining Tournay from the Dutch. Mr. Walpole alleged that it was treason. Sir Joseph Jekyl, a known Whig, said, that he could never be of opinion that it amounted to treason. It was his principal, he said, to do justice to all men, to the highest and to the lowest. He hoped he might pretend to some knowledge of the laws, and would not scruple to declare upon this part of the question in favour of the criminal. To this Walpole answered, with great warmth, that there were several persons both in and out of the committee, who did not in the least yield to that member in point of honesty, and exceeded him in the knowledge of the laws, and yet were satisfied that the charge in that article amounted to high-treason. This point being decided against the earl, and the other articles approved by the house, the lord Coningsby, attended by the Whig members, impeached him soon after at the bar of the house of lords, demanding, at the same time, that he might lose his seat, and be committed to custody. When this point came to be debated in the house of lords, a violent altercation ensued. Those who still adhered to the deposed minister, maintained the injustice and the danger of such proceeding. At last the earl himself rose up and with great tranquillity observed «that for his own part he always acted by the immediate directions and command of the queen, his mistress; he had never offended against any known law, and was unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man.»

Next day he was brought to the bar, where he read a copy of his impeachment, and was allo-



wed a month to prepare his answer. Though Dr. Mead declared, that if the earl should be sent to the Tower, his life would be in danger, it was carried in the house that he should be committed. At the same time the duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke having omitted to surrender themselves, for they had actually fled to the continent, within a limited time, it was ordered, that the earl should raze out their names and arms from among the list of peers, and inventories were taken of their estates and possessions, which were declared forfeited to the crown.

Lord Oxford being confined in the Tower, he continued there for two years, during which time the nation was in a continual ferment, from an actual rebellion that was carried on unsuccessfully. After the execution of some lords who were taken in arms, the nation seemed glutted with blood, and that was the time that lord Oxford petitioned to be brought to his trial. He knew that the fury of the nation was spent on objects that were really culpable, and expected that his case would look like innocence itself, when compared to theirs. A day therefore, at his own request, was assigned him, and the commons were ordered to prepare for their charge. At the appointed time the peers repaired to the court in Westminster-hall where lord Cowper presided as lord high-steward. But a dispute arising between the lords and commons concerning the mode of his trial, the lords voted that the prisoner should be set at liberty. To this dispute he probably owed the security of his title and fortune, for as to the articles, importing him guilty of high-treason, they were at once malignant and



frivolous : so that his life was in no manner of danger.

In the mean time these vindictive proceedings excited the indignation of the people, who perceived that the avenues to royal favour were closed against all but a faction. The flames of rebellion were actually kindled in Scotland. The earl of Mar assembling three hundred of his own vassals in the Highlands, proclaimed the Pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at a place called Braemaer, assuming the title of lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces. To second these attempts, two vessels arrived in Scotland from France, with arms, ammunition, and a number of officers, together with assurances to the earl, that the Pretender himself would shortly come over to head his own forces. The earl, in consequence of this promise, soon found himself at the head of ten thousand men, well armed and provided. The duke of Argyle, apprised of his intentions, and at any rate willing to prove his attachment to the present government, resolved to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblain, though his forces did not amount to half the number of the enemy. After an engagement which continued several hours, in the evening both sides drew off, and both sides claimed the victory. Though the possession of the field was kept by neither, yet certainly all the honour and all the advantages of the day belonged to the duke of Argyle. It was sufficient for him to have interrupted the progress of the enemy; for in their circumstances, delay was defeat. The earl of Mar soon found his disappointments and his losses increase. The castle of Inverness of which he was in possession, was delivered up to the king



by lord Lovat, who had hitherto professed to act in the interest of the Pretender. The marquis of Tullibardine forsook the earl, in order to defend his own part of the country; and many of the clans, seeing no likelihood of coming soon to a second engagement, returned quietly home.

In the meantime the rebellion was still more unsuccessfully prosecuted in England. From the time the Pretender had undertaken this wild project at Paris, in which the duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke were engaged, lord Stair, the English ambassador there, had penetrated all his designs, and sent faithful accounts of all his measures, and all his adherents, to the ministry at home. Upon the first rumour, therefore, of an insurrection, they imprisoned several lords and gentlemen, of whom they had a suspicion. The earls of Home, Wintown, Kinnoul, and others, were committed to the castle of Edinburgh. The king obtained leave from the lower house to seize Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Harvey, Combe, and others. The lords Lansdown and Duplin were taken into custody. Sir William Wyndham's father-in-law, the Duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance, but his surety was refused.

All these precautions were not able to stop the insurrection in the western counties, where it was already begun, but every measure was betrayed to government, as soon as projected, and many revolts repressed in the very outset. The university of Oxford was treated with great severity on this occasion. Major-general Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons, took possession of the city at day-break, declaring he would instantly shoot any of



the students who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges. The insur-

A. D.

1715.

rection in the northern counties came to greater maturity. In the month of

October the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foster took the field with a body of horse, and being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the Pretender. Their first attempt was to seize upon Newcastle, in which they had many friends, but they found the gates shut against them, and were obliged to retire to Hexham. To oppose these, general Carpenter was detached by government, with a body of nine hundred men, and an engagement was hourly expected. The rebels had proceeded, by the way of Kendal and Lancaster, to Preston, of which place they took possession without any resistance. But this was the last stage of their ill-advised incursion; for general Wills, at the head of seven thousand men, came up to the town to attack them, and from his activity there was no escaping. They now, therefore, began to raise barricadoes, and to put the place in a posture of defence, repulsing the first attack of the royal army with success. Next day, however, Wills was reinforced by Carpenter, and the town was invested on all sides. In this deplorable situation, to which they were reduced by their own rashness, Foster hoped to capitulate with the general, and accordingly sent colonel Oxburgh, who had been taken prisoner, with a trumpeter, to propose a capitulation. This, however, Wills refused, alleging, that he would not treat with rebels, and that the only favour they had to expect was to be spared from immediate slaughter. They accordingly



laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard; all the noblemen and leaders were secured, and a few of their officers tried for deserting from the royal army, and shot by order of a court-martial. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool; the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, and led through the streets pinioned and bound together, to intimidate their party.

The Pretender might by this time have been convinced of the vanity of his expectations, in supposing that the whole country would rise up in his cause. His affairs were actually desperate; yet with his usual infatuation he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when such a measure was too late for success. Passing, therefore, through France in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, he arrived after a voyage of a few days, on the coasts of Scotland, with only six gentlemen in his train. He passed unknown through Aberdeen to Feteresso, where he was met by the earl of Mar, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. There he was solemnly proclaimed. His declaration, dated at Com-mercy was printed and dispersed. He went from thence to Dundee, where he made a public entry, and in two days more he arrived at Scoon, where he intended to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. He ordered thanksgivings to be made for his safe arrival; he enjoined the ministers to pray for him in their churches; and, without the smallest share of power, went through all the ceremonies of royalty. Having thus spent some time in unimportant parade, he resolved to abandon the



enterprise with the same levity with which it was undertaken. Having made a speech to his grand council, he informed them of his want of money, arms, and ammunition, for undertaking a campaign, and therefore deplored that he was compelled to leave them. He once more embarked on board a small French ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose, accompanied with several lords, his adherents, and in five days arrived at Graveline.

In this manner ended a rebellion which nothing but imbecility could project, and nothing but rashness could support. But though the enemy was no more, the fury of the victors did not seem in the least to abate with success. The law was now put in force with all its terrors; and the prisons of London were crowded with those deluded wretches, whom the ministry seemed resolved not to pardon. The commons, in their address to the crown, declared they would prosecute in the most vigorous manner, the authors of the late rebellion. In consequence of which the earls of Derwentwater, Nithisdale, Carnwarth, and Winton, the lords Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairne, were impeached, and upon pleading guilty, all but lord Winton received sentence of death. No entreaties could soften the ministry to spare these unhappy men.

Orders were dispatched for executing the lords Derwentwater, Nithisdale, and Kenmuir, immediately: the rest were respited to a further time. Nithisdale, however, had the good fortune to escape in women's clothes, which were brought him by his mother, the night before he was to have been executed. Derwentwater and Kenmuir were brought  
to



to the scaffold on Tower-hill at the time appointed. Both underwent their sentence with calm intrepidity, pitied by all, and seemingly less moved themselves than those who beheld them.

In the beginning of April commissioners for trying the rebels met in the court of common pleas, when bills were found against Mr. Foster, Mr. Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates. Foster escaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in safety; the rest pleaded not guilty. Pitts the keeper of Newgate, being suspected of having connived at Foster's escape, was tried for his life, but acquitted. Yet notwithstanding this, Mackintosh and several other persons broke from Newgate, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the centinel. The court proceeded to the trial of those that remained; four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn; two and twenty were executed at Preston and Manchester, and about a thousand prisoners experienced the king's mercy, but were transported to North America.

A rupture with Spain which ensued some time after, served once more to raise the declining expectations of the Pretender and his adherents. It was hoped that by the assistance of cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister, a new insurrection might be excited in England. The duke of Ormond was the person fixed upon to conduct this expedition; and he obtained from the Spanish court a fleet of ten ships of war and transports, having on board six thousand regular troops, with arms for twelve thousand more. But having set sail, and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, he was encountered by a violent storm, which disabled the fleet, and



frustrated the expedition. This misfortune together with the bad success of the Spanish arms in Sicily and other parts of Europe, induced Philip to wish for peace: and he at last agreed to sign the quadruple alliance. This was at that time thought an immense acquisition; but England, though she procured the ratification, had no share in the advantage of the treaty.

A. D.  
1721.

It was about this time that one John Law, a Scotchman, cheated France by erecting a company under the name of the Mississippi, which promised that deluded people great wealth, but ended in involving the French nation in great distress. It was now that the people of England were deceived by a project entirely similar, which is remembered by the name of the South-sea scheme, and which was felt long after by thousands. To explain this as concisely as possible, it is to be observed, that ever since the revolution under king William, the government not having had sufficient supplies granted by parliament, or what was granted requiring time to be collected, they were obliged to borrow money from several different companies of merchants, and among the rest, from that company which traded to the South-sea. The South-sea company having made up their debt to the government ten millions, instead of six hundred thousand pounds, which they usually received as interest, were satisfied with five hundred thousand.

It was in this situation of things, that one Blount who had been bred a scrivener, and was possessed of all the cunning and plausibility requisite for such an undertaking, proposed to the ministry, in the



name of the South-sea company, to buy up all the debts of the different companies of merchants, and thus to become the sole creditor of the state. The terms he offered to government were extremely advantageous. The South-sea company was to redeem the debts of the nation out of the hands of the private proprietors, who were creditors to government, upon whatever terms they could agree on; and for the interest of this money, which they had thus redeemed, and taken into their own hands, they would be contented to be allowed by government, for six years, five per cent. then the interest should be reduced to four per cent. and should at any time be redeemable by parliament. But now came the part of the scheme big with fraud and ruin. As the directors of the South-sea company could not of themselves be supposed to possess money sufficient to buy up the debts of the nation, they were empowered to raise it by opening a subscription to a scheme for trading in the South-seas, from which commerce immense ideal advantages were promised by the cunning directors, and still greater expected by the rapacious credulity of the people. All persons, therefore, who were creditors to government, were invited to come in, and exchange their stocks for that of the South-sea company.

The directors' books were no sooner opened for the first subscription, but crowds came to make the exchange of their other stock for South-sea stock. The delusion was artfully continued and spread. Subscriptions in a few days sold for double the price they had been bought at. The scheme succeeded even beyond the projectors' hopes, and the



whole nation was infected with a spirit of avaricious enterprise. The infatuation prevailed ; the stock increased to a surprising degree, and to near ten times the value of what it was at first subscribed for.

After a few months, however, the people found that all the advantages they expected were imaginary, while thousands of families were involved in one common ruin. The principal delinquents were punished by parliament with the forfeiture of all such possessions and estates as they had acquired during the continuance of this popular frenzy, and some care also was taken to redress the sufferers. The discontents occasioned by these public calamities once more gave the disaffected party hopes of succeeding. But in all their councils they were weak, divided and wavering. The first person who was seized upon suspicion was Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, a prelate long obnoxious to the present government, and possessed of abilities to render him formidable to any ministry. His papers were seized, and he himself confined in the Tower. Soon after the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, the lords North and Grey, and some others of inferior rank, were arrested and imprisoned. Of all these, however, only the bishop, who was banished, and one Mr. Layer, who was hanged at Tyburn, felt the severity of government; the proofs against the rest amounting to no convictive evidence.

The commons about this time finding many abuses had crept into the court of chancery, which either impeded justice, or rendered it venal, they resolved to impeach the chancellor Thomas, earl



of Macclesfield, at the bar of the house of lords, for high crimes and misdemeanors. This was one of the most laborious and best contested trials in the annals of England. The trial lasted twenty days. The earl proved that the sums he received for the sale of places in chancery had been usually received by former lord chancellors : but reason told that such receipts were contrary to strict justice. Equity, therefore, prevailed above precedent; the earl was convicted of fraudulent practices, and condemned to a fine of thirty thousand pounds, with imprisonment until that sum should be paid, which was accordingly discharged in about six weeks after.

In this manner, the corruption, venality, and avarice of the times had increased with the riches and luxury of the nation. Commerce introduced fraud, and wealth introduced prodigality. The parliament indeed made some new efforts to check the progress of vice and immorality, which now began to be diffused through every rank of life. But they were supported neither by the co-operation of the ministry, nor the voice of the people.

It was now two years since the king had visited his electoral dominions of Hanover. He, therefore, soon after the breaking up of the parliament, prepared for a journey thither. Having appointed a regency in his absence, he embarked for Holland, and lay upon his landing at a little town call Voet. Next day he proceeded on his journey; and in two days more between ten and eleven at night, arrived at Delden, to all appearance in perfect health. He supped there very heartily, and continued his progress early the next morning, but between eight and nine ordered

A. D.  
1727.



his coach to stop. It being perceived that one of his hands lay motionless, monsieur Fabrice who had formerly been servant to the king of Sweden, and who now attended king George, attempted to quicken the circulation, by chafing it between his hands. As this had no effect, the surgeon who followed on horseback, was called, and he also rubbed it with spirits. Soon after the king's tongue began to swell, and he had just strength enough to bid them hasten to Osnaburg. Then falling insensible into Fabrice's arms, he never recovered, but expired about eleven o'clock the next morning, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



## LIVRES ANGLAIS.

D.<sup>r</sup> GOLDSMITH. ABRÉGÉ DE L'HISTOIRE D'ANGLETERRE, continuée jusqu'à la paix de 1815, d'après la dernière édition de Londres, 1816 : (An abridgment of D.<sup>r</sup> Goldsmith's history of ENGLAND; from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to the death of George the second, and continued to the general peace in the year 1815); 2 forts vol. in-18. petit texte, grande justification, papier fin. *Lyon*, 1817. 6 f.

— ABRÉGÉ DE L'HISTOIRE DE LA GRÈCE (History of Greece abridged), 2 vol. in-18. papier fin. *Lyon*, 1817. 3 f. 50 c.

— ABRÉGÉ DE L'HISTOIRE ROMAINE (Roman History abridged), 2 vol. in-18. papier fin. *Lyon*, 1817. 3 f. 50 c.

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ABRÉGÉ DE L'HISTOIRE ROMAINE, depuis la fondation de Rome jusqu'à la chute de l'empire romain en occident, nouvellement traduit de l'anglais du docteur Goldsmith, par M. Bruyset. On y a joint un vocabulaire des noms anciens et modernes de tous les lieux et de tous les peuples dont il est fait mention dans l'ouvrage; un vol. in-12. de plus de 400 pages, papier fin. *Lyon*, 1816. 3 f.

N. B. L'auteur n'a point terminé son travail à la bataille d'Actium et au règne d'Auguste, comme la plupart des abrégiateurs qui l'ont précédé; il a embrassé dans son ouvrage l'histoire romaine toute entière; celle des empereurs y est renfermée, et il conduit son lecteur jusqu'à la conversion de Constantin et à l'établissement du christianisme.

ABRÉGÉ DE L'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE, nouvellement traduit de l'anglais du D.<sup>r</sup> Goldsmith, par M. Bruyset, de l'académie de Lyon, etc., à l'usage des jeunes personnes de l'un et de l'autre sexe. On y a joint un vocabulaire des noms anciens et modernes de tous les lieux et de tous les peuples dont il est fait mention dans l'ouvrage; vol. in-12. de 400 pages, papier fin. (Sous presse.) 3 f.









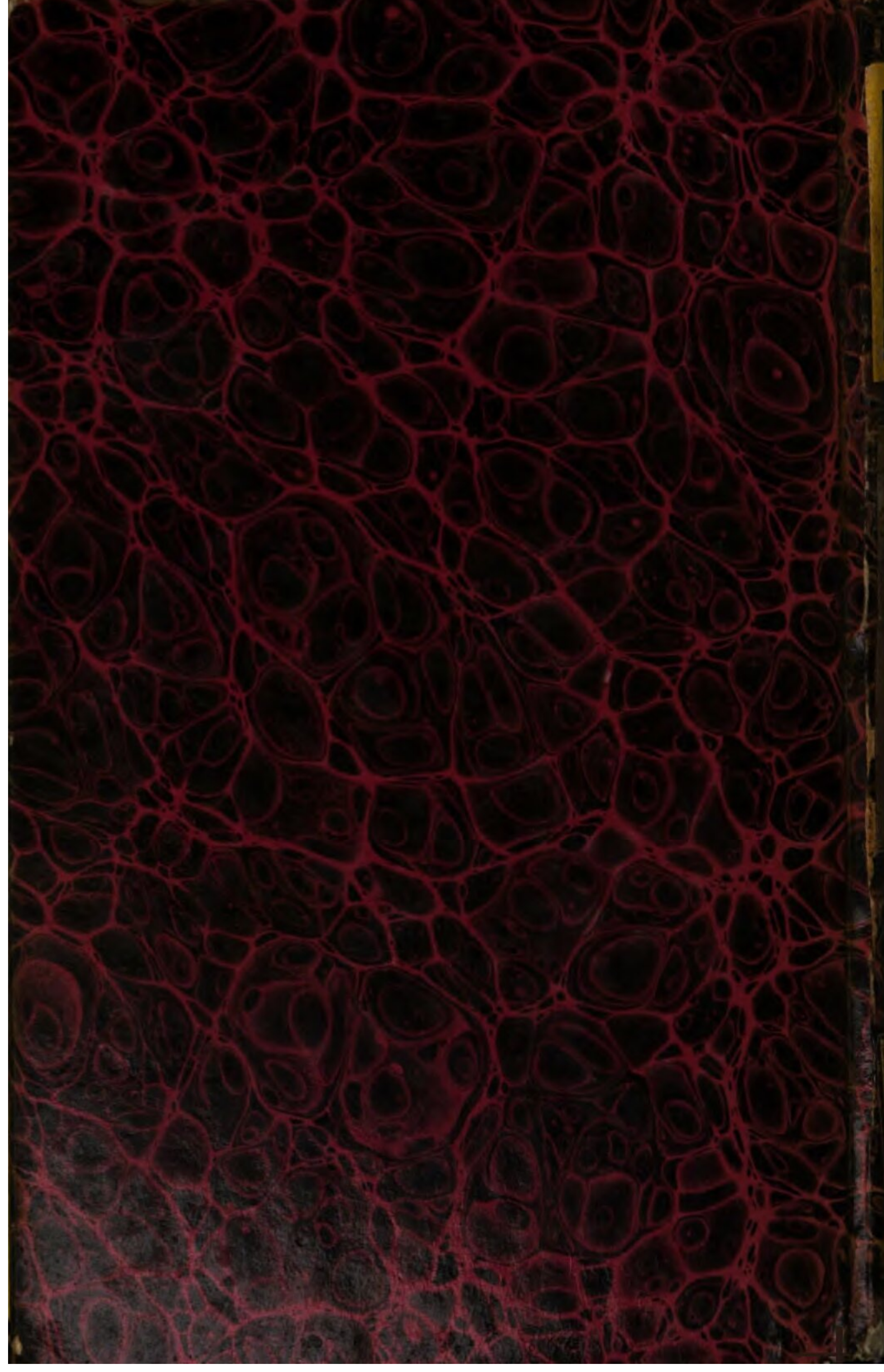














Goldsmith, Oliver,

An abridgment of Dr. Goldsmith's History of England from the invasion of  
Julius Caesar to the death of George the Second, and continued to the  
General Peace in the year 1815 ; in two volumes  
Bd.: 1

Paris (1817)

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